

Boris Vadimovich Sokolov Who  
fought in numbers, and who fought with skill. The monstrous truth  
about the losses of the USSR in World War II

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#### Foreword

The purpose of this study is to try to determine the human losses of all countries affected in one way or another by the Second World War. There is no doubt that the loss of mankind in this war was the largest compared to any other war in history, however, determining the exact amount of losses both in the world as a whole and in individual countries faces a number of difficulties, which are not yet fully understood.

overcome so far. The absence of population statistics in a number of countries, primarily Asian ones, the absence of reliable reports on the losses of a number of armies, as well as the absence of any reliable current accounting of civilian casualties in most countries, do not allow us to accurately determine the losses of a number of states and all countries in in general. Therefore, we abandoned the compilation of a summary table of losses for all countries and the final figure for the losses of the world as a whole. The reason is both in the deliberate inaccuracy of the calculations of the losses of a number of countries, and in the inevitable double counting associated with the changes in the borders of many states that took place during the war.

Another important circumstance hinders the determination of the true magnitude of losses in World War II. In many countries, not excluding Russia, the problem of determining military losses, and especially the losses of their own armed forces and their correlation with the losses of the enemy, has long been a political problem. During the war years, the underestimation of their own losses and the overestimation of the losses of the enemy were dictated both by propaganda considerations and by the desire of the military themselves to present the results of their activities in the best possible light to the higher authorities, military and political. But even after the war, when it was already possible to approach the determination of the magnitude of losses as a purely scientific task, its solution was influenced by the ideological and political views of researchers, and this influence turns out to be in principle irremovable.

We tried to approach the definition of quantity as a purely

scientific task, abstracting as much as possible from the action of all political and ideological factors. In the first part of our study, we tried to determine the size of the losses of the two states that suffered the greatest losses in the war - the Soviet Union and Germany. In the second part of the study, an attempt is made to determine the losses of the remaining countries, one way or another participating in the war. We also tried to calculate the ratio of the losses of the armed forces of the parties for various theaters of military operations. In order to calculate losses more accurately, we strove, whenever possible, to refer to primary sources to verify existing loss estimates. Probably, many of the results of the study will seem sensational to readers and will turn their ideas about the magnitude and nature of the losses of certain countries, not excluding our country, upside down. However, sensationalism in itself was not the goal of our study. We aimed only at maximum accuracy in determining losses and the scientific correctness of the calculations.

In order to determine as accurately as possible the losses of all countries that participated in the Second World War or were somehow affected by it, and to accurately distribute them into categories, it is necessary to carry out an international project for calculating the losses in World War II by a group of scientists independent of state structures and representing all major countries - participants in the war, suffered the greatest losses. They must calculate all losses by primary source, with a clear statement of the methodologies used. The loss figures for each country should be considered established only when there is a consensus among all project participants. Such a project will require significant public and private funding and many years of hard work. Let's hope that

someday it will come true.

I want to express my warmest gratitude to the historian Georgy Borisovich Brylevsky, who provided me with data on the losses of the Japanese army from Japanese sources.

I dedicate my book to the memory of all those who died during the Second World War.

## Part 1

### Losses of the Soviet Union and Germany in World War II: Methods of Calculation and Most Likely Results

#### Criticism of the official figure of irretrievable losses of the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War

The Soviet Union and Germany suffered the greatest losses among all participants in the Second World War. Establishing the magnitude of the irretrievable losses of both the armed forces and the civilian population of these two countries, even today, 65 years after the end of the war, remains a difficult statistical task, and here the estimates of various researchers differ quite significantly. This is especially true of estimates of the losses of the Red Army, where the figures of various researchers differ several times.

Here it should be borne in mind that the calculation of the population and, in particular, the calculation of human losses is not just the solution of some mathematical problem. After all, we are not talking about the calculation of inanimate objects, but about living people with free will. This circumstance makes all calculations fundamentally less accurate than in the case of any calculations of inanimate objects or the solution of abstract mathematical problems. The accuracy of calculations, when we are dealing with population statistics, is affected both by the properties of the array that needs to be calculated, and by the properties of those people who are counting. In the case of counting military people, the objects of calculation are not living people who themselves can answer questions of interest to us, as is the case ideally, for example, during population censuses, but people who died or went missing, i.e. at the very moment of counting, obviously inaccessible to counters. The calculation of military casualties is made on the basis of reports of various levels, and primary reports of losses (usually reports of platoon commanders) are usually not archived. These reports were based both on the personal impressions of the commander, who observed the alleged death of his fighters, and on the testimony of subordinates about the death of one of his comrades, as well as on the fact that one of the fighters was absent after the battle. There is also a subjective factor. The author of the report usually sought to use the data on irretrievable losses or to report them late. This made it possible to receive additional rations and improve the idea of the authorities about the results of combat activities. However, the underestimation of the level of losses could mainly take place in those instances where the initial reports of losses were received. Each of these instances, from the company to the front (army group), were interested in

present the results of their own combat activities in the best possible light. This was achieved by downplaying their own losses and exaggerating the losses of the enemy. The degree of distortion of loss reports was determined both by the level of culture and existing traditions, and by the absolute value of one's own losses. The larger they are, the greater the level of their underestimation.

Both objective and subjective difficulties in determining Soviet military losses lead to the fact that existing estimates differ by several times. The adherence of researchers to one assessment or another is often determined by ideological reasons. Higher ratings are held by those who are more critical of the Soviet past. Supporters of more moderate assessments in most cases are those who are inclined to find certain merits in the Soviet project. With particular zeal, representatives of the military department defend the smallest estimates of the losses of the Red Army. They seek to prove that the Red Army fought no worse than the Wehrmacht, and thereby justify the preservation of the basic principles of the construction of the armed forces, which have largely remained unchanged since the Great Patriotic War.

The official figures of Soviet military losses in the Great Patriotic War, first published in the form of a monograph in 1993, do not withstand any scientific criticism, and all the absurdities noted in the first edition have not been corrected in subsequent editions. Meanwhile, the data contained in these publications themselves refute the established with comical accuracy of 8,668,400 Red Army, Red Navy and NKVD troops who died for

years of war. True, the second edition added another figure of 500 thousand people called up for military training in May - June 1941 and missing at the beginning of the war. The authors are still inclined to attribute this figure, which is not clear from where, to the losses of the civilian population and leave unchanged the figure of irretrievable losses of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Great Patriotic War at 8,668,400 people.

G.F. Krivosheev, defending the General Staff figure of losses, said in an interview with Itogi magazine: "I am surprised by the strange desire of some of our fellow citizens to denigrate the army and increase the number of its losses during the war. You know the names of these people even without me - Boris Sokolov, Alexander Rutskoï, Dmitry Volkogonov. Govorukhin in his film "The Russia We Lost" says that we suffered losses 10 times greater than the Germans. Rutskoï said - 14 times more. Believe me, all this contradicts the archival documents of the General Staff. Those researchers who are trying to objectively approach the study of the problem of Soviet military losses and try to sort out the inconsistencies that are available in official publications are accused of falsification? Meanwhile, back in the anniversary year of 1995, I happened to

1 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century.

P. 236. 2 Itogi, 2005, May 10, No. 19.

3 See: Osipov G. The truth about our losses in the Great Patriotic War // Komsomolskaya Pravda, 2010, April 27.

meet Krivosheev and his team at a public performance at the State Public Historical Library in Moscow. When Krivosheev announced the official number of casualties calculated by him and his staff, I directly asked what his grade in arithmetic was at school. The general was sincerely indignant and, foaming at the mouth, began to prove that he had graduated from school with a gold medal. The public shushed that the question was incorrect. I objected that the question was correct, and gave an example of the losses of the Central Front in the Kursk defensive operation in July 1943, proving at least a threefold underestimation of losses in the collection "Secrecy Removed" (this example is given below). The audience was shocked, and Krivosheev and his associates were confused. Only a few minutes later, one of the members of the author's team of the collection, the late captain of the 1st rank M.V. Filimoshin, who directly counted the losses in the Great Patriotic War and to whom I earlier in a private conversation cited the same example of the Central Front as proof of the absurdity of their calculations, rushed to the microphone and shouted in confusion that they, they say, cannot be responsible for other people's numbers, which someone once indicated in the reports. Nevertheless, the team of authors of the book "The Classification Removed" continued and continue to insist that their total figure of 8,668,400 dead is consistent with the true value of losses. They do not hear criticism, because they have a certain ideological task.

As participants in the war I.A. Dugas and F.Ya. Cheron, "Oh, how many lies and half-truths Krivosheev and his team piled up! The authors engaged in myth-making with the hope that the younger generation would not understand the events. Refuting with the help of German figures the obviously underestimated data of the collection "The Classification Removed" on mortality

Soviet prisoners of war - supposedly 1.4 million people in total, Dugas and Cheron also cite the testimony of F. Setin, who worked in the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense: "Once, on the eve of a lunch break, a group of young of people. People with especially secret documents worked in this hall.

As it turned out later, they were officers of the General Staff, mostly colonels, good-looking, widely educated and cultured, who knew their own worth. As a retired officer and a front-line soldier, I reached out to them: in the dining room, in the smoking room or in the rest room, now and then I joined in a general conversation with my colleagues. From snatches of conversations, I realized that they were counting the irretrievable losses of our troops during the war years, for which they looked through all the archival funds related to this. The previous group, I was told, calculated a figure of more than thirty million. "Upstairs" did not accept this figure. "Too much," they said. And they formed a new group." Obviously, the M.A. Gareeva and G.F. Krivosheeva and became the group that considered it the way the "tops" needed.

4 Dugas I.A., Cheron F.Ya. Erased from memory. Soviet prisoners of war between Hitler and Stalin. Paris: UMSA-Press, 1994, pp. 405, 402-403; Setin F. How much did we lose in the war? // Russian Life, 1991, May 25.

It is characteristic that on the air of Vladimir Pozner's program "Times" the president of the Academy of Military Sciences, General of the Army M.A. Gareev, defending the official loss figure, involuntarily let it slip when he said, addressing the audience gathered in the studio, that "you don't need to know all these numbers" °. The trouble is that the official loss figure has already become part of the myth of the Great Victory, designed to justify the Soviet past.

Meanwhile, the official loss figures are easily refuted by the information contained in the collection "Secrecy Removed" itself (in all its editions). According to this collection, on July 5, 1943, by the beginning of the Battle of Kursk, the troops of the Central Front numbered 738 thousand people and during the defensive battle from July 5 to 11 inclusive lost 15,336 people killed and missing and 18,561 people wounded and sick. By the time the Red Army went on the offensive on Orel, on July 12, the composition of the troops of the Central Front had not changed much: one tank brigades arrived and two rifle brigades left. The tank brigade then in the state consisted of 1300 people, and in one rifle brigade there were 4.2 thousand people. With this in mind, by the beginning of the Oryol operation, the Central Front was supposed to have 6977 thousand personnel. However, according to the authors of the book "Secrecy Removed", at that moment there were only 645,300 people in Rokossovsky's troops. This means that the true losses of the Central Front in the defensive battle near Kursk were at least 51.7 thousand more than official statistics claim, with the bulk of the underestimation falling on irretrievable losses. If we assume that the underestimation of losses related mainly to irretrievable losses, then the latter are underestimated by about 4.4 times. And this is only on the condition that the troops of the Central Front did not receive marching reinforcements during the defensive operation. If such replenishment was received, then the real losses should have been even higher (replenishment to the neighboring Voronezh Front during the defensive battle

7. So many people could not immediately desert or simply disappear to no one knows where, and even in conditions of fierce fighting. Although we had to repeatedly point out this inconsistency to the authors of the book "The Classification Removed" both in print and in personal conversations, they did not give any explanation for this fact, and all the indicated figures remained unchanged in all editions.

Another example concerns the defense of Odessa, which lasted from August 5 to October 16, 1941. Official figures for Soviet casualties in

5 Blr://mgigih 146u.ga/omga/t/oteb tasht.ta1t? r\_ne\m'\$ Not  
19=76043&r\_peugz ga74e1 14=102&r\_radepat=16

6 Ibid. pp. 285, 286.

7 See, for example: Ivanov S . Defensive operation of the Voronezh Front // Military History Journal. 1973. No. 8. S. 22.

8 See: Sokolov B . How much we lost in the Great Patriotic War and how history is falsified // Novaya Gazeta, 2009, June 22.

this operation - 16,578 killed and missing?. However, it is known that during the battle for Odessa, the Romanian army took about 16 thousand prisoners. It is absolutely unbelievable that in more than two months of fighting, the defenders of Odessa lost only 578 killed.

An equally serious proof that the data of the book "Secrecy Removed" about the irretrievable losses of the Red Army are many times underestimated is the comparison of the data on the losses of two armies of the Polish Army in separate operations contained in this collection with official Polish data. In total, Polish losses on the Soviet-German front amounted to 17.5 thousand killed and 10 thousand missing.

In the East Pomeranian operation, which lasted from February 10 to April 4, 1945, the 1st Army of the Polish Army lost, according to official Russian data, 2575 killed and missing. "However, according to Polish data, the losses of this army amounted to 5.4 thousand killed and 2.8 thousand missing!. This gives 8.2 thousand people irretrievable losses, which is 3.2 times more than the official Russian calculation of Polish losses in the East Pomeranian operation. Accordingly, the overall Russian estimate of all Soviet and Polish irretrievable losses in this operation should be increased by 3.2 times - from 55 315 to 176 149. The ratio of irretrievable and sanitary losses for the 1st Polish Army will be 1.35: 1, and for all Soviet and Polish troops participating in the East Pomeranian operation - 0.98:1, i.e., as we expected, it turns out to be close to 1:1.

In the Berlin operation, which lasted from April 16 to May 8, 1945, the irretrievable losses of the Soviet troops are determined by the authors of the book at 81,116 people, including the losses of the 1st and 2nd armies of the Polish Army. At the same time, the irretrievable losses of the two Polish armies, according to the official publication of the Russian Ministry of Defense, amounted to only 2825 people. However, official Polish data

testify that the irretrievable losses of the two Polish armies in the Berlin operation amounted to 7.2 thousand dead and 3.8 thousand.

9 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 310.

10 Ahioyyu MagK, 5sae5 Corne]], Sgashposh Sp5Nap . Tyta Akhiz Eochi Apu. Here is Aghted. Roxes w Te Epgoreap \Vag 1941-1945. G.op4op: Arm\$ apa Armotr Prezz, 1995, p. 71. The figure of 16 thousand prisoners captured

by the Romanians in the battles for Odessa is confirmed by the fact that when Romania officially annexed Transistria (Odessa region) in 1943, 13,682 natives of Transistria were released from captivity (Shneer A. Plen. T 1. Jerusalem, 2003. S. 222-223). There is no doubt that the majority

their

were captured during the battles for Odessa.

11 The contribution of Poland and the Poles to the Allied victory in World War II 1939-1945. Warsaw: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, 2005, p. 34.

12 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. P. 305. 13 The contribution of Poland and the Poles to the Allied victory in World War II. S. 34

14 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 307; The contribution of Poland and the Poles to the Allied victory in World War II. 1939-1945. S. 34.

missing, which gives an irretrievable loss of 11 thousand people, that is, 3.9 times more than the official Russian data claims. It can be assumed that the irretrievable losses of the rest of the troops participating in the Berlin operation are underestimated in the same proportion. Then they should be about 316.4 thousand people, which probably exceeds the irretrievable losses of the German troops that opposed the Soviet troops in the Berlin operation.

After all, the main part of this grouping surrendered to the American-British troops. By the way, General A.V. Gorbатов, who commanded the 3rd Army in the Berlin operation, criticized V.Ya. Lakshin that at least 100,000 Soviet soldiers and officers were killed during street fighting in Berlin alone!5. The ratio of irretrievable and sanitary losses for the Polish armies turns out to be 1.8:1, and for all Soviet and Polish troops participating in the Berlin operation - 1.13:1, i.e. irretrievable losses turn out to be even somewhat greater than sanitary ones. There are other numbers of Polish losses in the Berlin operation, which are also significantly different from the figures of the "Secret Class Removed". According to A.V. Isaev's archival data, the 2nd Army of the Polish Army lost 4,902 killed, 10,532 wounded and 2,798 missing in the Berlin operation. The losses of the 1st Army of the Polish Army amounted to 2014 killed, 7010 wounded and 516 missing. ". This gives us 6.9 thousand people.

15 Even in the last operation of World War II, Soviet troops were tactically losing to the Wehrmacht. Marshal I.S. Konev after the war criticized Marshal G.K. Zhukov for the fact that he, commanding the 1st Belorussian Front, during the Berlin operation underestimated "the available data on the deliberate withdrawal of enemy troops to the Seelow Heights, located 6-8 km from the front line. As a result of an incorrect assessment of the situation, the troops of the front, approaching the heavily fortified

Zeelovsky heights, were forced to storm them without sufficient preparation, which entailed ... a slow-paced breakthrough of the enemy's defenses in the offensive zone of the 1st Belorussian Front "(Konev Ivan S. The strength of the Soviet Army and Navy in the leadership of the party, inextricably linked with the people // Pravda, 1957, November 3.). As a result, powerful artillery preparation came almost from scratch. However, the same mistake was made on the 1st Ukrainian Front, commanded by Konev, as on Zhukov's front. As V.R. Kabo, artillery gunner

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units as part of the 4th Guards Tank Army D.D. Lelyushenko of the 1st Ukrainian Front, "on the night of April 16, we received an order to advance to the starting line and occupied a forest area on the high bank of the river. On the opposite bank, the Germans dug into the ground. At the signal of the rocket, our guns and rocket launchers hit, artillery preparation began. I have never witnessed anything like this - it was a continuous howl and roar, in which it was impossible to distinguish individual shots, the air trembled, a glow of fire stood over the river valley, and all this lasted, as it seemed to me, for several hours. The crew of my gun fired and fired, emptying one ammo box after another. As soon as dawn broke, our troops went on the offensive and crossed the river. Tanks were the first to go there, then a bridge was built, and a stream of vehicles moved along it - artillery and infantry. The opposite bank was plowed up with funnels of breaks. It seemed that there was not a single square meter of land left over which an infernal tornado of fire and metal would not have swept over. There were no signs of life there, but there were no dead either. The Germans are gone "(Cabo V.R. The road to Australia. Memoirs of M.U. Enesso Rahi \$ ta, 1995

16 Lakshin V.Ya. Opened door. M.: Moskovsky Rabochiy, 1989. S. 327-330.

17 Isaev A.V. Berlin 45th: Battles in the lair of the beast. M.: Yauza, EKSMO, 2007. S. 540, 674-6775.

killed and 3.3 thousand missing, which is less than the Polish data on irretrievable losses by 0.8 thousand people. If we use the Polish data on deadweight losses and the data of A.V. Isaev about the number of wounded Poles, then for one killed or missing there will be 1.6 wounded, which is also far from the traditional ratio of 3:1. We will return to the question why such a non-standard ratio between irretrievable and sanitary losses was observed in the Red Army, we will return a little lower.

It is curious that the authors of the book "Secrecy Removed" cite in their book data close to reality on the irretrievable losses of two armies of the Polish Army for the entire period of hostilities on the Soviet-German front - 24,707 people ', without asking, however, the question of how these data can be correlated with such small losses in the Berlin operation, where the Poles just suffered the greatest losses.

An analysis of the data from the collection "Secrecy Removed" also shows that the Berlin operation turned out to be a serious underestimation of the irretrievable losses of the 1st Ukrainian Front. According to the data of the collection, the troops of the front by the beginning of the operation on April 16, 1945, numbered 550,900 people and consisted of 44 rifle and three cavalry divisions, as well as 4 mechanized and 5 tank corps, two separate tank brigades and three self-propelled artillery brigades. At the same time, it is indicated that the 3rd and 5th guards, 13th and 52nd combined arms and



3rd and 4th Guards Tank Armies, as well as the 2nd Air Army." I note that the weak side of the collection "Secrecy Removed" is that for some reason artillery divisions and brigades are not included in the list of formations. After all, artillery divisions in terms of the number of personnel (7-10 thousand people) surpassed, for example, cavalry divisions and often did not concede to rifle divisions. Meanwhile, from the book "The Last Storm" it follows that 4 rifle divisions that participated in the Berlin operation were in the 1st Ukrainian Front only taking into account nine divisions of the 28th Army, which was transferred to the front on April 20, 1945, i.e. already after the start of the Berlin operation. In addition, the authors of "Grif" for some reason forgot to count one airborne division as part of the 5th Guards Army. To complete the picture, we also note that the authors of "Secrecy Removed" underestimated the number of rifle divisions on the 2nd Belorussian Front by three, showing only 33 divisions there and indicating that the 19th and 5th Guards Tank Armies did not participate in the operation. In fact, one of the rifle corps of the 19th Army nevertheless participated in the Berlin operation, which increases the number of rifle divisions at Rokossovsky to 36. In addition, he actually had two, and not one separate tank brigade, as shown in "Grief" \*°.

18 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 450, tab. 173. 19  
Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 307.

20 Vorobyov F.D., Parotkin I.V., Shimansky A.N. Last assault. (Berlin operation 1945). M.: Military Publishing House, 1975. S. 441-450.

It can be assumed that the number of troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front as of April 16, 1945 is given correctly in the collection "Secret Classified Removed" and this number also includes the 9th Guards Airborne Division not shown in the "Vulture". Note that, taking into account the underestimation of nine rifle divisions at Konev and three rifle divisions and one tank brigade at Rokossovsky, the total number of Soviet troops participating in the Berlin operation is underestimated by 135 thousand. In reality, it probably amounted to about 2040 thousand people. people, and taking into account the two armies of the Polish Army - about 2.2 million people.

By the beginning of the Prague Offensive on May 6, the grouping of the 1st Ukrainian Front had increased to 71 rifle divisions, 3 cavalry divisions, 4 mechanized and 5 tank corps, three separate tank and three self-propelled artillery brigades. Obviously, there was also one airborne division, missed by the authors of the "Vulture". There was also a number of artillery divisions and brigades, the number of which, for our calculations, we take in proportion to the number of rifle formations, assuming that they were attached to rifle and other formations in approximately the same proportion.

Let's try to estimate what would have been the size of the grouping of the 1st Ukrainian Front at the beginning of the Prague operation, if not for the losses in the Berlin operation, which ended for the troops of the front immediately before the start of the Prague operation. At the same time, it should be taken into account that the strength of an airborne division was approximately equal to the strength of a rifle division, and the strength of one cavalry division was about a third of the strength of a rifle division. Exactly

the tank and mechanized corps each were approximately equal in number to a full-blooded rifle division. And two separate tank brigades and three self-propelled artillery brigades, taken together, were approximately equal in size to one rifle division. Then the total strength of the grouping of the 1st Ukrainian Front before the start of the Berlin operation - without nine divisions of the 28th Army - can be estimated at about 47 calculated rifle divisions, and the strength of the grouping of the same front by the beginning of the Prague operation - at 83.2 calculated rifle divisions. Taking into account the number of troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front, by the beginning of the Berlin operation, the number of front troops involved in the Prague operation can be estimated at 975.2 thousand people, while in fact at the time of the start of the Prague operation it amounted to 806.4 thousand. Human?'. The losses of the 1st Ukrainian Front in the Berlin operation, according to the "Secret Class Removed," amounted to 86,245 wounded and sick and 27,580 killed and missing. If you subtract them from 975.2 thousand people, you get 861.4 thousand people. This is 55,000 more people than actually remained in the troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front by the beginning of the Prague operation. 55 thousand is the approximate amount of underestimated irretrievable losses, without taking into account possible replenishments received by the troops of the front by the beginning of the Prague operation. Then the total irretrievable losses of the front in the Berlin operation can be estimated at 82.6 thousand people, which is 3 times

21 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 308.

more than the figure given by the authors of "Vulture". However, to estimate the total amount of irretrievable losses of all Soviet troops in the Berlin operation, we consider it more appropriate to use a coefficient of 3.9, obtained on the example of the Polish armies. First, in the case of the Poles, we are dealing directly with data on deadweight losses. Secondly, there is a high probability that the troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front, which suffered heavy losses in the Berlin operation, received reinforcements before the Prague operation. Moreover, during the Berlin operation, many prisoners of war and "ostarbeiters" of military age were released. It should also be said that the troops of the 1st Belorussian Front, already after the start of the Berlin operation, on April 20 and 30, received a centralized replenishment with a total number of 16,900 people ?? Most likely, the 1st Ukrainian Front also received a close replenishment during the Berlin operation. For example, the 7th Guards Mechanized Corps, which was part of the front, was withdrawn from the battle on April 30, before the start of the Prague operation, received replenishment with people and equipment? And the 3rd Guards Army only in the period from April 20 to April 30 received a replenishment of 6,600 people. In addition, it cannot be ruled out that on the 1st Belorussian Front, which suffered the heaviest losses, the coefficient of underestimation of losses was even greater than on the 1st Ukrainian Front.

Even before the Berlin operation, in the period from February 1 to May 20, 1945, more than 40 thousand replenishment people from among "Soviet citizens of military age released from German captivity" were poured into the troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front. At the same time, it was the "Ostarbeiters" that prevailed among the liberated, and not the former prisoners of war. So, as reported on April 7, 1945, the head of the Political Directorate of the 1st Ukrainian Front, Major General F.V. Yashechkin, "among the 3,870 people who arrived in February to replenish the units of the formation, where the head of the political department, Major General Voronov (that is, in the 13th army. - B.S.), former military personnel, 873 people, again drafted into the army

2997 people, including 784 women"?. Thus, the proportion of former prisoners of war among the new recruits did not exceed 23%. And the fact that 20% of the conscripts were women from the "Ostarbeiters" proved that the human resources of the Red Army were close to exhaustion. Women were sent to the rear units to release "active bayonets" from there for the last battles.

Those of these first-time recognized "Ostarbeiters" who died in the battles for Berlin, probably did not get into the database of irretrievable losses of the Russian Ministry of Defense<sup>25</sup>, since they were called up

22 Isaev A.V. Berlin 45th: Battles in the lair of the beast. M.: Yauza, EKSMO, 2007. S. 316. 23 Ibid. P. 539.  
24  
Ibid. S. 574.

25 Battle for Berlin (Russian archive: Great Patriotic War. Vol. 15 (4-5). M.: Terra, 1995. S. 148.

26 Generalized data bank "Memorial" (Bp://mggm. oBa-tetota1.gch/).

directly to the part. While working with the Memorial OBD, I have never come across dead or missing servicemen, about whom it was indicated that they were called up directly to the unit. During the post-war calculations, these people were most likely included in the losses of the civilian population, which is illegal, or they were not taken into account at all as irretrievable losses.

#### Estimation of the true value of irretrievable losses of the Red Army

The official figures of Soviet irretrievable losses turn out to be several times less than the actual value, because the calculation of irretrievable losses in the Red Army was very poorly set. Commanders at all levels sought to downplay them. And this was reflected in the wartime documents.

The order of the Deputy People's Commissar of Defense of April 12, 1942, stated: "The accounting of personnel, especially the accounting of losses, is carried out in the army in the field completely -' unsatisfactorily ... - The headquarters of the formations do not send nominal lists of the dead to the center in a timely manner. As a result of the untimely and incomplete submission of lists of losses by the military units (as in the document. - B.S.), there was a large discrepancy between the data of numerical and personal accounting of losses. At present, no more than one third of the actual number of those killed is on a personal record. The personal records of the missing and captured are even more far from the truth." And in the future, the situation, taking into account the personnel and losses, did not undergo significant changes. In the order of the People's Commissar of Defense dated March 7, 1945 "On the unsatisfactory work of registering the dead and missing privates and sergeants and measures to improve it" two months before the end of the war with Germany, it was stated: "Checking the work of the Office for registering the dead and

of the missing privates and sergeants, serious shortcomings were revealed in the work on letters received by the Office from workers - relatives of military personnel ... In 1944, 40% of the letters received were returned back to senders with a request for additional information ... Instead of a careful analysis of incoming letters about In the search for military personnel, the Directorate established the wrong practice of referring them to the number of missing persons only because they lost contact with their families. Control over the passage of letters on the search for military personnel is not organized. During 1944, the Directorate received answers from military units for only 26% of their requests. The order also noted that "that the commanders of military formations and units, as well as military commissariats, do not respond to requests from the Directorate for months, give unsatisfactory answers; military councils of fronts, armies and military districts do not pay due attention to this important issue and do not control the setting up of a search for servicemen in military formations, units and institutions?

27 Unpaid debt. Publication by A.A. Buslaeva, K.A. Masuria. Yu.I. Shumeiko // Military History Journal. 1992. No. 9. S. 30; Order on unsatisfactory work on accounting for the dead and missing privates and sergeants and measures

By

Since the official figures for Soviet military casualties are far from reality, it was necessary to find alternative ways to calculate the irretrievable losses of the Red Army.

For an alternative estimate, we used higher numbers of irretrievable losses of the Red Army than those given in the collection Classified Removed. Thus, the authors of this collection determine the losses of the Soviet Armed Forces in 1942 as killed and missing at 2,888,83728. Volkogonov - 5,888,236 people, according to him - "the result of long calculations according to documents"? This figure is 2.04 times higher than the figure given in the book "Secrecy Removed", and, apparently, it does not include non-combat losses, but also those who died from wounds. With a similar monthly accounting of irretrievable losses of the Wehrmacht, those who died from wounds are included.

Most likely, the calculation of irretrievable losses for 1942 was made at the beginning of 1943. YES. Volkogonov gives a breakdown of losses by months. For comparison, we have the monthly dynamics of the losses of the Red Army defeated in battles for the period from July 1941 to April 1945 inclusive. The corresponding schedule is reproduced in the book of the former head of the Main Military Sanitary Directorate of the Red Army E.I. Smirnov "War and military medicine" 3. Monthly data for 1942 on the losses of the Soviet Armed Forces are given in the table.

Losses of the Red Army in 1942

its improvement, March 7, 1945, No. 043 // Russian archive: Great Patriotic War: Orders of the People's Commissar of Defense of the USSR (1943-1945). T. 13 (2-3) M.: TERRA, 1997. S.

360-361.

28 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 250, tab. 133.

29 Volkogonov D.A. We won despite the inhuman system // Izvestia, 1993, May 8. S. 5.

30 Smirnov E.I. War and military medicine, 2nd ed. M.: Medicine, 1979. S. 188.

Losses by casualties in battles

Month of war (in % of the average monthly level E for the war = 100) January 628

112 February 523

98 March 625 120

April 435 81 May

422 78

June 519 61

July 330 83

August 385 130

September 473 109

October 819 80

November 413 83

December 318 123

Total for the year 5888 1158

Sources: Smirnov E.I. War and military medicine. 2nd ed. M.: Medicine, 1979. S. 188;

Volkogonov D.A. We won despite the inhuman system // Izvestia, 1993, May 8. S. 5.

Here it should be noted that the figure "hit in battle" includes the wounded, shell-shocked, burned and frostbite. And the indicator "wounded", most often used in statistics, usually includes only the wounded and shell-shocked. The share of the wounded and shell-shocked among those killed in battles for the Red Army during the Great Patriotic War is 96.9%<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, without a large error, it is possible to attribute the indicators for the wounded to all those injured in battles and vice versa.

Comparison of the data in the table allows us to conclude that the data of D.A. Volkogonov significantly underestimate the true size of irretrievable losses. So, in May 1942, the irretrievable losses of the Soviet troops allegedly amounted to only 422 thousand and even decreased by 13 thousand people compared to April. Meanwhile, it was in May that German troops captured about 150 thousand Red Army soldiers on the Kerch Peninsula<sup>2</sup> and about 240 thousand - in the area of Kharkov<sup>3</sup>. In April same

31 Kuzmin M.K. Soviet medicine during the Great Patriotic War. M., 1979. S. 82; Kuvshinsky D.D. Actual problems of staged treatment of modern combat trauma // Military Medical Journal. 1974. No. 5. S. 9.

32 Halder F. Military diary. Per. with him. T. 3. Book. 2. M.: Military Publishing House, 1971. S. 250.

33 World War 1939-1945. Per. with him. M.: Izdatinlit, 1957. S. 189. German data on the number of prisoners near Kharkov was confirmed in his memoirs by N.S. Khrushchev, who at that time was a member of the Military Council of the Southwestern Front and direction (Spark. 1989. No. 31. P. 22).

Soviet losses by prisoners were insignificant (the largest number of them - about 5 thousand people was taken during the liquidation of the group of General M.G. Efremov in the Vyazma region). It turns out that in May the losses of those killed and those who died from wounds, diseases and accidents did not exceed 32 thousand people, and in April they reached almost 430 thousand, and this despite the fact that the number of those killed in battles from April to May fell by only 3 points, or less than 4%. It is clear that the whole point is in the colossal underestimation of irretrievable losses during the period of the general retreat of the Soviet troops from May to September inclusive. After all, it was then that the overwhelming majority of the 1,653,000 Soviet prisoners of 1942\* were captured by the Germans. According to D. A. Volkogonov, during this time, irretrievable losses reached 2129 thousand against 2211 thousand in the four previous months, when the losses of prisoners were insignificant. It is no coincidence that in October the irretrievable losses of the Red Army suddenly increased by 346,000 compared to September, with a sharp drop in the number of those killed in battles by as much as 29 points and the absence at that time of any large encirclement of Soviet troops. Probably, the losses of the previous months were partially included in the October losses.

The most reliable data seems to us on irretrievable losses for November, when the Red Army suffered almost no losses in prisoners, and the front line was stable until the 19th, when the Soviet troops launched a counteroffensive near Stalingrad. Therefore, we can assume that the losses in the dead were taken into account in this month more fully than in the previous and subsequent ones, when the rapid movement of the front and headquarters made it difficult to count, and that the irretrievable losses in November fell almost exclusively on the dead, since the Soviet troops suffered almost no losses as prisoners. Then, for 413 thousand killed and dead, there will be an indicator of 83% of those killed in battles, i.e. for 1% of the average monthly number of casualties in battles, there are approximately 5.0 thousand killed and died from wounds. If we take January, February, March or April as the baseline, then there the ratio, after excluding the approximate number of prisoners, will be even greater - from 5.1 to 5.5 thousand dead per 1% of the average monthly number of those killed in battles. The December figures clearly suffer from a large underestimation of irretrievable losses due to the rapid movement of the front line.

The ratio established for November 1942 between the number of casualties in battle and the number of those killed seems to us close to the average for the war as a whole. Then the irretrievable losses of the Red Army (without prisoners who died from wounds and non-combat losses) in the war with Germany can be estimated by multiplying 5 thousand people by 4656 (4600 is the sum (in percent) of losses struck in battles for the period from July 1941 to April 1945, 17 - casualties in battles for June 1941, 39 - losses in battles for May 1945, taken by us for one third of the losses in July 1941 and April 1945, respectively). As a result, we come to the figure of 23.28 million dead. From this number

939,700 military personnel who were reported missing should be deducted, but after the liberation of the respective territories again

34 Wright A. Segtapw Vess Wiza, 1941-1945. T.-M. W.: \$4. Magic'\$ Prez\$, 1957, P 427.

drafted into the army. Most of them were not in captivity, some fled from captivity®. Thus, the total number of deaths will be reduced to 22.34 million people. According to the latest estimate of the authors of the book "Secrecy Removed", the non-combat losses of the Red Army amounted to 555.5 thousand people, including at least 157 thousand people who were executed by tribunals. Then the total irretrievable losses of the Soviet armed forces (without those who died in captivity) can be estimated at 22.9 million people.

To obtain a final figure for military casualties, it is also necessary to estimate the number of Soviet prisoners of war who died in captivity. According to the final German documents, 5754 thousand prisoners of war were taken on the Eastern Front, including in 1941 - 3 million 355 thousand, in 1942 - 1653 thousand, in 1943 - 565 thousand, in 1944 - 147 thousand ., in 1945 - 34 thousand. At the same time, the authors of the document presented to the Western allies in May 1945 stipulated that for the years 1944-1945 the account of prisoners was incomplete. At the same time, the number of deaths in captivity was estimated at 3.3 million people<sup>77</sup>. However, according to earlier data from the OKW, between June 22 and December 1, 1941, 3,806,861 prisoners of war were captured on the Eastern Front, and according to a statement made by government official Mansfeld on February 19, 1942 in the Reich Economic Chamber, there were 3 Soviet prisoners of war, 9 million people (almost all of them were captured in 1941) 38. The number of 3.8 million prisoners of 1941 probably included approximately 200 thousand prisoners from the occupied territories, released from the camps back in 1941<sup>78</sup>. Taking into account approximately 450 thousand prisoners who were underestimated in 1941, as well as prisoners taken by Germany's allies (Finland captured 64,188 prisoners, of which 19,276 - 30% died, Romania - about 160 thousand prisoners, of which 5.2 died thousand) "0, the total number of Soviet prisoners of war I

35 The classification has been removed. S. 129.

36 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 237; Hoffman I. Stalin's war of annihilation. Per. with him. M.: AST; Astrel, 2006. S. 108-109. Many Red Army soldiers were also shot without trial by their commanders or barrage detachments, but there are no statistics on this. These people were mostly shown as dead on

field  
fight.

37 RaShpt A. Segtap Wesh Vaza, 1941-1945. T.-M. U.: 54. Magiyu'\$ Prezz, 1957, p. 427.

38 Questions of History. 1989. No. 3. S. 37; Nuremberg trials: in 7 vols. T. 3 // M., 1960, p. 29-30.

39 Weijpdeg S. Tve Noze Wee op \$apa; Tie Con 1c {\$ oE Segtap RoPsu w Vazza, 1939-

1945. G., 1960, p. 21. In total, about 1 million Soviet citizens, mostly from among prisoners of war, served as auxiliary personnel ("volunteer assistants") or as part of collaborationist formations in the German army at various times. Until May 1, 1944, 818 thousand prisoners of war were released from the camps, most of which were used in the German armed forces. By the end of the war, the number of "voluntary assistants" in the Wehrmacht from among Soviet citizens was estimated at 665-675 thousand people (PG, p. 446; Wright A. Or. SI, p. 427, 658).

40 Pietola E. Prisoners of war in Finland 1941-1944 // Sever, Petrozavodsk, 1990, No. 12. Mortality among Soviet prisoners in Romania was low. By the time Romania withdrew from the war in August 1944, there were 59,856 prisoners of war in the camps. Before

I estimate at 6.3 million people. Of this number, the allies of Germany account for about 220 thousand people. 1 million 836 thousand people returned to their homeland from German (as well as Finnish and Romanian) captivity, and about 250 thousand more, according to the USSR Foreign Ministry, made in 1956, remained in the West after the war. The total number of those killed in captivity, adding here 19.7 thousand Red Army soldiers who died in Finnish captivity, and 5.2 thousand who died in Romanian captivity, I estimate at about 4 million people. This is 63.5% of the total number of prisoners.

Such a high death rate of Soviet prisoners of war was caused both by the non-applicability of the terms of the Geneva Convention to them, the deliberate destruction of Jews and political workers by the Nazis, and by objective reasons, primarily an acute shortage of food. The number of Soviet prisoners of 1941 was half a million larger than the German ground army in the East, which numbered 3.3 million people and itself felt a shortage of food. So the Germans, with all their desire, could not feed such a number of prisoners, which doomed most of them to death in the winter of 1941/42. It was also not possible to quickly take them to the deep rear in Poland due to the lack of wagons and the low capacity of the railways.

Taking into account the dead prisoners, the total losses of the Soviet armed forces can be estimated at 26.9 million people. It should be borne in mind that the difference between 4 million and 3.3 million dead prisoners recorded by the Germans is about 700 thousand people. This includes both prisoners who died after being taken prisoner without registration by the German authorities, and prisoners who fled from the camps and then died either in partisan detachments or simply in the villages where they hid from the Germans. The 700 thousand dead also include those prisoners of war who served in the Wehrmacht, the SS and auxiliary police units and died in battles with the Red Army or partisans.

To determine the true value of the irretrievable losses of the Red Army, another method can be proposed. Considering that in smaller battles the undercounting of losses could be smaller, we assume that the total undercounting of irretrievable losses in the collection "Classified" was at least three times. Its authors, as the head of the Historical and Memorial Center, General A.V. Kirilin, worked with the database of personal data on the reports of the fronts about irretrievable losses". And on a personal account, as recognized

This time, 5221 prisoners of war died, 3331 people fled from captivity. In 1943, the Romanian authorities released from captivity 13,682 natives of Transistria as a territory



annexed by Romania, and in 1941 about 80 thousand natives of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were released (Shneer A. Plen. T. 1. Jerusalem, 2003. S. 222-223). In total, the Romanians captured more than 160 thousand prisoners. Hungarian and Italian

units handed over their prisoners to the Germans, so they are included in the composition of Soviet prisoners captured by the Germans.

41 Gareev M. About myths old and new // Military History Journal. 1991. No. 4. S. 47.

42 "We ... took the methodology of bringing together data on irretrievable losses that came every 10 days from units and formations to the General Staff ... We ... brought together 32,800 archival files, each with 2-5 thousand people ... ." (Vinogradov M. List of losses // Profile, No. 23(674), 2010, June 21. (VB Ir://mgili.rgoShe.ga/{etz/? Tset=30406&rade=2&sotten=1}).

leadership of the People's Commissariat of Defense in April 1942, consisted of no more than one third of irretrievable losses. In the "Secret Classification Removed", the total amount of irretrievable losses, including the prisoners who returned home and the missing, is defined as 11,444 thousand people. Of these, it is necessary to exclude 1658 thousand who died from wounds, diseases and accidents and were shot by tribunals and committed suicide (these losses are not included in the number of those killed and missing). If we multiply the resulting number by 3 and subtract 2,776,000 returned prisoners and missing, and again add 1,658,000 dead, it turns out that about 28,240,000 soldiers of the Red Army died in total. From this we must deduct approximately 250,000 Soviet prisoners of war who ended up in exile. The total number of dead will decrease to 27,990 thousand, which is only 1,090 thousand more than the figure of 26.9 million dead Soviet servicemen, obtained using data on the monthly dynamics of those killed in battles.

There is another option for calculating Soviet military losses - according to the ratio of losses of officers of the Red Army and the Wehrmacht. After all, officers were considered more precisely, and in the USSR, accounting for their irretrievable losses after the war took many years and was basically completed only in 1963. From June 1941 to November 1944, the irretrievable losses of officers of the German land army in the East amounted to 65.2 thousand dead and missing. From June 1941 to November 1944, the German ground forces lost 2417 thousand dead and missing in the East, including 65.2 thousand officers, which gives a ratio of soldiers to officers in irretrievable losses of 36.07: 1. Such a high value of this indicator indicates a high accuracy of accounting, since officers were counted more accurately than privates, especially since it is close to the ratio of soldiers and officers in the personnel of the active ground army. There were 81,314 officers out of 2,741,064, which gives a ratio of 32.71:1 (the decrease in the indicator is obviously due to a larger proportion of officers in higher headquarters)

"5.

The Red Army during the same period (without the Navy and Air Force and with the exception of the political, administrative and legal composition of the ground forces, represented in Germany not by officers, but by officials) lost about 784 thousand officers only who died and did not return

43 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 237.

44 In A. Bayerbach's critical review of Krivosheev's "Secret Classification and Problems with Calculating the Losses of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War", posted on the Internet on April 8, 2010 - [dtlE-zekgepo\\$I](#)), it is also argued that the data on Soviet losses in the Great Patriotic War, given in the book by G.F. Krivosheev and his staff should be at least tripled. This review is not free from errors, but in most cases one can agree with her criticism of the collection "Secrecy Removed".

45 Müller-Hillebrand B. Land Army of Germany, 1933-1945. T. 3. M.: Military Publishing House, 1976. S. 342-343.

46 Ibid. S. 331.

from captivity. This gives a ratio of about 12:1<sup>7</sup>. In the German army in the East, the proportion of irretrievable losses of officers until the end of 1944 amounted to about 2.7%. It is rather difficult to determine the share of officers in the combat irretrievable losses of the Red Army. It fluctuates significantly in different battles and depends on which formation, rifle or tank, participated in the battles. So, for the period of December 17-19, 1941, in the 323rd Infantry Division, the loss of commanding staff among the dead and missing amounted to 3.36% \*. For the 5th Guards Army in the period from July 9 to July 17, 1943, the ratio of losses of privates and officers was 15.88:1, and with the exception of political and other "bureaucratic" compositions - 18.38:155. For the 5th Guards Tank Army, the corresponding ratios for the period from 12 to 18 July 1943 will be 9.64:1 and 11.22:15'. For the 48th Rifle Corps of the 69th Army in the period from 1 to 16 July 1943, these ratios reach 17.17:1 and 19.88:1°. It must be borne in mind that the main losses in manpower during the war were borne by the combined arms, and not by the tank armies (in the latter, the proportion of officers was much higher). Therefore, the overall ratio of irretrievable losses of officers and ordinary Red Army soldiers as a whole will be much closer to what was established for combined arms, and not for tank formations. At the same time, it should be taken into account that the used Soviet reports contain a significant underestimation of irretrievable losses, and to a greater extent due to privates, not officers. This underestimation was very significant. Thus, according to reports, the 183rd Rifle Division of the 48th Rifle Corps lost 398 killed and 908 wounded during the indicated period (the missing were not taken into account), and for those killed, the ratio of soldiers and officers was 25.5: 1. However, the number of personnel of the division, even without taking into account possible replenishment, decreased from the beginning of the fighting and until July 15 from 7981 people to 2652, that is, the real losses amounted not to 1300, but to 5329 soldiers and officers. Obviously, the difference of 4029 people was formed mainly due to the unaccounted for missing persons, among whom, for sure, soldiers sharply prevailed over officers. For

47 Calculated by: Müller-Hillebrand Burkhart. Ground Army of Germany. 1933-1945. T. 3. M.: Military Publishing House, 1976. S. 354-409; Shabaev A.A. Officer's loss composition

Red Army in the Great Patriotic War // Military Historical Archive. Higher 3. M., 1998. S. 173-189; Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. pp. 430-436.

48 Müller-Gillebrand B. Land Army of Germany. T. 3. S. 342-343.

49 The Hidden Truth of War: 1941 / Ed. Pavel N. Knyshevsky. M.: Russian book, 1992. S. 222.

50 TsAMO RF, f 5 TV A, op. 4855, d. 20, l. 4 (Quoted by: Lopukhovskiy L.N. Prokhorovka  
without a secrecy stamp // Military Historical Archive. 2004. No. 2. P. 73).

51 Ibid. P. 72. (TsAMO RF, f. 5 guards T.A., op. 4952, d. 7, l. 3). 52 TsAMO RF, f. 69 A, op. 107753, d. 442, l. 24.

53 Zamulin V.N., Lopukhovskiy L.N. Prokhorov battle. Myths and Reality // Military Historical Archive. 2003. No. 3. P. 101.

comparison, you can take other divisions of the 48th corps, for which there is data on the missing. In the 93rd Guards Rifle Division, the ratio of soldiers and officers among those killed was 18.08:1, and among the missing - 12.74:1, in the 81st Guards, respectively - 12.96:1 and 16.81:1, for the 89th Guards - 7.15: 1 and 32.37: 1, for the 375th Rifle - 67.33: 1 and 31: 1. In the latter case, such large numbers, obviously, were due to the small amount of irretrievable losses - 3 officers and 233 privates, which increases the risk of statistical error. I also note that in the 375th division there was a huge underestimation of losses. During the fighting, its numbers decreased from 8647 to 3526 people, which gives real losses not in 236, but in 5121 people. In those cases where the percentage of officers among the missing is greater than among those killed, this should indicate that there was a huge undercount of the missing soldiers, since the fate of officers is usually determined more precisely. Therefore, in the case of divisions where the proportion of officers among the missing was greater than among those killed, we will take the same ratio for the missing as was established for the dead, and exclude the 375th division from the calculation. In this case, calculations for the 48th Corps without one division will give a ratio of soldiers and officers in irretrievable losses equal to 21.02:1. With the exception of the political staff, legal and administrative, the ratio will be equal to 24.16:1. It is interesting that this is practically equal to the ratio that is obtained for the German association - the III motorized (tank) corps of General Eberhard Mackensen, but over a longer period of time. This corps operated on the Eastern Front from June 22, 1941 to November 13, 1942, and during this time lost 14,404 people dead and missing, including 564 officers, which gives a ratio of 24.54 soldiers and non-commissioned officers per one officer. I note that in the German motorized corps, the proportion of tank units and subunits was significantly lower than in the Soviet tank army, therefore, in terms of the loss of soldiers and officers, it was closer to army corps than Soviet tank armies to combined arms armies. By the way, the number of dead soldiers per dead officer in the German corps is lower than in the Eastern Army as a whole. The difference probably arose due to the fact that the proportion of tank units was higher in the corps, where the proportion of officers was higher than in the infantry. In addition, the corps reports did not take into account the wounded and sick who died in hospitals, among which the proportion of officers

was lower than among those killed and missing.

If we accept the final ratio between soldiers and officers in irretrievable losses, established by me for the 48th Rifle Corps during the Battle of Kursk, close to the average ratio between soldiers and officers in irretrievable losses of the Red Army ground forces for the entire war, and extend it to the losses of officers until the end of November 1944, i.e., by 784 thousand officers who died and did not return from captivity, then the total losses of the ground forces of the Red Army who died in the period from June 41st to November 44th can be estimated at 18,941 thousand people. If we add here the losses of ground forces for

54 Calculated from: Mackensen E. From the Bug to the Caucasus (Panzer Corps in the campaign against Soviet Russia in 1941-1942) // From the Bug to the Caucasus. M.: AST, 2004.

the last six months of the war - at least 2 million people and the loss of the fleet and aviation for the entire war - at least 200 thousand people, then we get about 21 million dead, which is within the accuracy of our estimates made by a different method. Taking into account the fact that in our assessment we were dealing with deliberately underestimated reports of losses, and underestimated mainly due to soldiers, then the true value of sweat, in all likelihood, should be more than what turned out according to the assessment carried out by the method of comparing officer losses.

Here is another example related to the loss of officers. If the figure of the irretrievable losses of the "Secrecy stamp removed" is correct, then in the irretrievable losses of the Soviet ground forces, which amounted to about 8459 thousand people, including 973.3 thousand officers (taking into account the fact that the losses of the fleet amounted to about 155 thousand dead and missing lead, and the loss of the Air Force - about 54 thousand) ®, for one dead officer (including political workers and persons of administrative and technical staff) there should be 8.7 dead privates. However, in reality this figure was much higher. So, the 193rd Guards Regiment of the 66th Guards Division from July 10 to October 9, 1943, without taking into account possible replenishment, lost 56 officers and 1554 sergeants and privates ° killed and wounded, which gives a ratio between soldiers and officers of 27.8: 1. Meanwhile, on July 10, by the time the regiment entered the battle, there were 2022 sergeants and soldiers for 197 officers, which gives a ratio of 10.3: 1. Taking into account the fact that by the beginning of the fighting there were more officers in the regiment than required by the state, in the possible replenishment the share of officers was probably lower than their share in losses, so the actual ratio of soldiers and officers in losses could be more than 28: 1.

Calculation of the real value of the irretrievable losses of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Great Patriotic War based on the Generalized Computer Data Bank containing information about the defenders of the Fatherland who died and went missing during the Great Patriotic War, as well as in the post-war period (OBD Memorial), created by the Russian Ministry of Defense according to the presidential decree of January 22, 2006 "Issues of perpetuating the memory of those who died defending the Fatherland" °, it is not possible, since it is not yet possible to establish, on the one hand, the number of twins contained in the database, and most importantly, it is almost impossible to determine the percentage of those who died not included in the database. It should be noted that, according to the estimates of the former assistant to the head of the TsPTsAMO, S.A. Ilyenkov, based on the exclusion of understudies from the card index, the irretrievable losses of the Red Army amount to at least 13,850 thousand people °8.

55 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. pp. 236, 239, 402, 435. The assessment of the irretrievable losses of the Air Force was made on the basis of data that the irretrievable losses of the Air Force in 1943-1945 amounted to 0.63% of the total losses of the ground forces and the Air Force (Ibid., p. 402) .

56 Isaev A.V. Antisuovorov. Ten myths of World War II. M.: Eksmo, Yauza, 2004. S. 129-130.

57 Vlr://orim.obch petpotla!.gi/

58 Ilyenkov S.A. The memory of the millions of fallen defenders of the Fatherland must not be forgotten // Military Historical Archive. 2000. No. 7(22). pp. 77-78.

It should be noted that it is not possible to estimate the total amount of irretrievable losses of the Red Army and the number of those buried, since the vast majority of burials were made in mass graves, and in some cases it is impossible to say with certainty whether we are dealing with the burials of prisoners of war or "Ostarbeiters". At the same time, many burials were not designated as burials at all, many fighters generally remained unburied, and the exact number of persons buried in a mass grave was often not known. So, in the order to the troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front on the shortcomings in the burial of military personnel dated February 5, 1945, it was specifically noted: "The corpses of military personnel are buried out of time, special graves are not torn off, but are used for graves: trenches, trenches, cracks and bomb funnels. The graves are not filled up and covered with sod. There are no grave columns indicating the names of the dead, there are no diagrams of the geographical location of mass and individual graves" 59

During the war with Germany and Japan, 1,104,110 military personnel died from combat defeats, and 267,394 died from diseases. In addition, 3,798.2 thousand people were demobilized due to injury and illness, of which 2,576 thousand became disabled. It can be assumed that at least some, if not most, of the 1,222,200 servicemen demobilized due to injury or illness, but not recognized as disabled, were re-conscripted. We conditionally assume that approximately 0.6 million of the 1.2 million people demobilized but not disabled were re-conscripted into the armed forces.

The total loss of the Soviet Armed Forces in the course of the war with Germany in killed and dead from wounds, illnesses, accidents and other causes, as well as prisoners and invalids, is, according to our estimates, about 31.1 million people. This contradicts official data on the total number of citizens of the USSR called up for military service - 34,476.7 thousand people (including the peacetime army), of which 3,614.6 thousand people were transferred to work in the national economy and in military formations of other departments. The net call is then equal to 30.9 million people. It should be noted that the military formations of other departments are, first of all, the troops of the NKVD, which actively participated in the war. It is not clear whether the figure of 34,476.7 thousand was obtained by any calculations or taken from any document, so check it

reliability is not possible. In the collection Classified Removed, where it was first made public, there is no indication of how it was obtained. Neither calculation methods nor data sources are indicated.

By July 1, 1945, 11,390.6 thousand people remained in the Armed Forces of the USSR, and, in addition, 1,046 thousand people were treated in hospitals. "It should also be taken into account that according to the certificate

59 Russian archive. The Great Patriotic War. T. 25 (14). M.: Terra, 1998. S. 645. 60 The classification has been removed. pp. 136, 140.

61 Ibid. pp. 139, 141.

Office of the Commissioner for Repatriated Affairs under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR dated July 10, 1945, out of 918 thousand prisoners repatriated by that time, 425 thousand were returned to the Red Army ", and out of 1046 thousand who were in hospitals, up to 100 thousand, probably In any case, if our estimate of the irretrievable losses of the Red Army is close to reality, the total number of those mobilized should have exceeded the official figure by 12 million people, which corresponds to a net draft, minus those sent in the national economy, to 42.9 million people. If we take into account the former prisoners of war returned to service, as well as the number of potential invalids among the wounded who were in hospitals by July 1, 1945, the difference with the official net conscription will decrease to 11.5 million people. take into account that in the USSR about 1 million women were called up or enrolled as volunteers. It is possible that up to 1 million people of ages who were not called up for the Wehrmacht were mobilized or volunteered for the Red Army (meaning people born before 1890).

The difference between the official and actual conscription could be formed due to conscripts sent to the NKVD troops and other paramilitary formations, underestimation of persons called up in a centralized manner, and also mainly due to conscription directly to the unit, for which there are no consolidated data and where, in particular, includes a voluntary-compulsory conscription as "volunteers" of residents of Transcarpathian Ukraine, annexed in 1945. Major General P.G. Grigorenko, who served on the 4th Ukrainian Front, recalled how the mobilization and call-up of "volunteers" took place directly in the unit in Western Ukraine and neighboring Transcarpathia in the autumn of 1944: "From the 4th Ukrainian Front they demanded to find human resources on the spot - mobilization warring ages in Western Ukraine, the recruitment of volunteers in Transcarpathia and the return of the recovering wounded and sick. The lack of people was so palpable that the mobilization was turned, in fact, into catching people, just as slave traders used to catch blacks in Africa. Volunteering was organized in the Soviet way, approximately in the same way as a 100% "voluntary" turnout of Soviet citizens to the ballot boxes is organized. By the nature of my service, I didn't have to engage in either "mobilization" or recruitment of "volunteers", but troops were allocated from the division at the disposal of mobilizers and recruiters of "volunteers", and, returning back, officers and soldiers talked about the nature of their actions. Here is one of those stories. "We cordoned off the village at dawn. It was ordered that anyone who tried to escape from the village should be shot after

first warning. After that, a special team entered the village and, bypassing the houses, drove all the men, regardless of age and health, to the square. Then they were escorted to special camps. A medical examination was carried out there and politically unreliable persons were seized. At the same time there was an intensive drill drill. After checking and primary military training in special camps, the "mobilized" were sent in parts: always under escort, which was sent from those units where they were sent

62 Izvestia, 1990, May 27.

corresponding groups of "mobilized". The replenishment collected in this way was further processed in parts. At the same time, strict liability was established, up to the trial of a military tribunal, of officers from whose units an escape was made. Therefore, the supervision of the "mobilized" Western Ukrainians was extremely strict. In addition, they were kept from escaping by the fact that the families of "deserters" were also subjected to repression. The situation in the front line, where any "dangling" lingered, also interfered with the escapes. The cruelty of punishments also kept them from escaping - deserters from among the "mobilized" and "volunteers" were shot or sent to penal companies.

"Volunteers" were recruited somewhat differently. They were "invited" to the "meeting". They were invited so that no one could refuse. At the same time, arrests were made in the village. At the meeting, speeches were organized by those who wish to join the ranks of the Soviet army. The one who spoke out against was forced to explain why he refused, and for the first unsuccessfully spoken or deliberately distorted word he was declared an enemy of the Soviet regime. In general, the highly experienced KGBists ended any such "meeting" with the fact that no one went home free. All turned out to be either "volunteers" or arrested enemies of the Soviet regime. Further, the "volunteers" were treated in the same way as the "mobilized". Our division received reinforcements from both of these sources. And I think everyone understands that this replenishment was not reliable enough. In order to turn the "mobilized" Western Ukrainians and "volunteers" from Transcarpathia into reliable warriors, it was necessary not only to train them and subject them to general discipline, but also to rally them into a combat team, giving them the backbone of experienced soldiers devoted to the Soviet Union. These were the actual composition of the division and the replenishment arriving from the hospitals "53.

Former Soviet prisoners of war Iosif Dugas and Yakov Cheron, one of whom was captured in 1942 near Kharkov, note: "As a rule, having freed a certain territory from the Germans, the Soviet command gathered the entire population liable for military service and, often without weapons and military uniforms, drove them to battle. So, for example, it was in the Kharkov offensive in May 1942. The soldiers called those hastily mobilized "ravens" (according to dark civilian clothes). In the offensive, the "crow" could be armed with a shovel, a bayonet, in rare cases a rifle, from which she did not know how to shoot. The question is: who should consider these "ravens" who were taken prisoner - soldiers, civilians or partisans? The Germans acted like this: if the "crow" had a head cut bald under a typewriter, or if she had a rifle, the "crow" was considered a prisoner. Sometimes the Germans simply kicked out the "raven", without even considering the hairstyle. From the side of the Soviet command

it was a crime to send these people." There is no doubt that they are all

63 Grigorenko P.G. In the underground you can only meet rats ... M.: Links, 1997. S. 245-246.

64 Dugas I.A., Cheron F.Ya. Erased from memory. Soviet prisoners of war between Hitler and Stalin. Paris: UMSA-Perez\$, 1994. P. 406. The authors refute the opinion widespread in Soviet times that the Germans supposedly placed civilians in large numbers in prison camps, due to which

should be considered Red Army soldiers. Indeed, the Germans equally spent ammunition to repel the attacks of both the unfortunate "ravens" and the Red Army soldiers in uniform. Over time, the surviving "ravens" received both rifles and uniforms, but they had little chance of finishing the war until the end of the war. And, as a rule, those who died in the very first battles from among those called up directly to the units did not fall into the general base of the mobilized, as well as into the general base of irretrievable losses.

Separate examples show that the call directly to the unit was a significant amount. Thus, a member of the Military Council of the Southern Front and former Deputy People's Commissar of Defense for Personnel E.A. Shchadenko wrote on October 6, 1943 to GKO member G.M. Malenkov, that in September 1943 alone, 115,000 people were called up directly to the unit by the troops of the front, of which 18,675 people (18%) are conscripts who had not previously served in the Red Army, and the rest were former Red Army soldiers who remained in the occupied territory. It is safe to assume that a significant part, if not most, of those who identified themselves as former military personnel did not actually serve in the Red Army, but chose to identify themselves as former Red Army soldiers in order to avoid charges of draft evasion and desertion in 1941. As we have already seen, in the last months of the war, when hostilities were fought in European countries, it was mostly former "Ostarbeiters" of draft age who were called up directly to the unit.

The total number of mobilized 42.9 million people will be about 20.8% of the pre-war population. Note that the volume of the German conscription during the Second World War turned out to be quite comparable with the Soviet one. In total, 17.9 million people were drafted into the Wehrmacht (including the peacetime army), of which about 2 million people were recalled to work in the national economy. Thus, the net conscription of 15.9 million people was 19.7% of the German population of 80.6 million people in 1939 (including the population of Austria and the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia) <.

At the beginning of the Second World War, in 1939, there were approximately 140,000 women in the German Army, of which 50,000 women were actually civil servants, and 90,000 were considered civilian auxiliary personnel (NeuShegtehn), which, however, were subject to some army disciplinary regulations and certain uniforms. In 1944, about 300 thousand women, both employees and support personnel, served in the reserve army and other rear establishments of the land army in the territory of the Reich, and about 20.5 thousand female support personnel served in the active army and on occupied territories. The Luftwaffe had



increased the number of prisoners. They argue that "of all the articles of the Hague Convention, the Germans do not seem to have violated only the one that defines who is a prisoner of war" (ibid.).

65 Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), f. 83, op. 1, d. 29, ll. 75-77.

66 Müller-Hillebrand B. Decree. op. T. 3. S. 323, 328.

about 130 thousand women, and in the Navy - 20 thousand (the latter served only on the coast). In total, about 470 thousand people served in the German armed forces. In November 1944, the number of women in the Luftwaffe, due to mobilization, increased to 300-350 thousand people, and the total number of female personnel - up to 640-690 thousand people, but most of the newly called up could not be used due to the lack of a sufficient number of female commanders and adequate time and resources for preparation. Women were not used in combat units and were not armed. At the end of February 1945, Hitler changed his principled position on not involving women in combat operations and allowed the formation of one women's battalion, whose significance, however, was to be more propaganda than military. However, already in March, the OKW issued an order canceling all other orders for the arming of women, so the battalion was never created. Only anti-aircraft gun crews and women assigned to guards could have weapons? In the last months of the war, weapons were no longer enough to arm the male conscripts.

In Germany, unlike the USSR, women were never sent to combat units, but served only in the rear - staff clerks and clerks, radio operators, typists and telegraph operators, nurses, as well as observers at VNOS posts and in the meteorological service. Therefore, the losses among them in killed and dead were minimal and were the result of diseases and air bombardments, and in the occupied territories - also the result of partisan attacks. The irretrievable losses of women were unlikely to exceed several thousand people. On the other hand, thousands of German servicewomen ended up in captivity, but usually as internees, since practically all of them were demobilized in April 1945.

The mobilization capacity of the USSR and Germany turned out to be practically equal in relation to the total population. The Soviet Union could mobilize a somewhat larger share of the population thanks to the help of the Western allies in the form of lend-lease, which made it possible to release additional labor from industry for the needs of the front, and also due to the almost complete cessation of all civilian production already in 1941, while in Germany in 1943, a significant part of the industry produced products to meet the needs of the civilian population. In addition, in the USSR, on a much larger scale, women, the elderly and adolescents were recruited to work in the national economy. In Germany, the mobilization capacity increased due to the use of the labor of foreign workers and prisoners of war (5655 thousand people in September 1944) °. However, in the USSR, older people were drafted into the army to a greater extent.

In the Red Army, the number of dead and the number of wounded were close to each other. The wonderful Belarusian writer-front-line soldier Vasil Bykov, the author of really honest books about the war, in his memoirs is very

67 Sa5\$t-5soN, Lask. Motep a& Mag 1939-45. Top4op: Ozrgeu RIBI and Tsa, 1980. R. 23, 31-32.

68 Müller-Hillebrand B. Decree. op. S. 327.

explains well why in the Red Army there were significantly fewer wounded per dead than in the Wehrmacht, and in other armies of the Second World War: "Our losses in the offensive were monstrous, the greatest number of them, of course, accounted for the wounded. Lightly wounded from the battlefield were chosen by themselves; the seriously wounded were often in the zone of fire for a long time, receiving new wounds, and even dying. To take out the wounded from the battlefield, only specially appointed fighters - orderlies and medical instructors - had the right to carry them out. No one else was allowed to escort the wounded to the rear; attempts of this kind were regarded as evading the battle. Of course, the instructor girls did their best, but the medical instructors were supposed to be one per company, while dozens were always recruited on the battlefield. How was it to be in time with all the desire? And they didn't make it; the wounded were forced to wait a long time for help and, bleeding, died on the field or on the way to the medical battalion.

Until now, it is not known exactly who owns the "brilliant" idea of using women in the war. It seems that this is a purely Soviet innovation; nothing like this was observed in the German army until the end of the war. With the obvious lack of shortage of human (male) material in the war, what was the need to send young girls, poorly adapted to the uniqueness of combat life, under fire? What was the use of them? Except perhaps in brightening up the leisure and life of senior commanders and political workers who have temporarily lost their wives and girlfriends in the rear" °3.

Due to the fact that our wounded were pulled from the battlefield not by hefty male orderlies, like the Germans, but by fragile girls, yesterday's schoolgirls, as well as due to the fact that the wounded in battle (i.e., those who did not die immediately, as soon as he was hit by a bullet or shrapnel) in the Red Army there were several times more than in the Wehrmacht, the chances of a Soviet wounded being taken out of the battlefield and taken to the hospital were an order of magnitude less than theirs German comrades in misfortune. Therefore, among the Soviet wounded, there was a much larger proportion of those who died on the battlefield even before they had time to help him. Due to the action of these two factors, for one killed in the Wehrmacht, there were much more wounded than in the Red Army. As a result, the irretrievable losses of the Red Army increased sharply, which exceeded the losses of the Wehrmacht by an order of magnitude.

Here is just one example. In July 1943, during the Battle of Kursk, the losses of the troops of the Voronezh and Steppe fronts, according to the calculations of L.N. Lopukhovsky, according to reports of losses, amounted to 189 thousand people, including 70.1 thousand killed, captured and missing. During the same period, Army Group South, which opposed them, lost 46.2 thousand soldiers and officers, including 9.3 thousand people - killed and missing. Of this number, at least 4 thousand people were lost in battles against the Soviet Southwestern Front. Then share

The steppe and Voronezh fronts account for approximately 42 thousand German servicemen who were out of action, including about 8.5 thousand - irrevocably. Thus, the ratio for total losses

69 Bykov V. "For the Motherland! For Stalin!" The price of past battles // Motherland. M., 1995. No. 5. S. 32-33.

70 Lopukhovskiy L.N. Prokhorovka - uncertified. M.: Yauza, EKSMO, 2005. S. 513-520, 530-533.

it turns out 4.5:1 in favor of the Germans, and for combat irrevocable - already 8.25:1. This proves that the share of sanitary losses among the Germans in the total losses was much greater than in the Red Army.

It is rather difficult to establish the exact number of wounded in the Soviet Armed Forces, since different sources appear with different figures, and it is not always clear to which category of the wounded this or that figure belongs. It is possible that the figure of 19.7 million wounded is closest to the truth. It is obtained if we take the data that as a result of injuries, 16% of the wounded were dismissed from the army. These data are contained in a 1946 report on the work of the rear during the war years. If we take the data on the number of Red Army soldiers dismissed due to injury from the "Secrecy Class Removed" in 3050.7 thousand, then the total number of wounded will be 19,066.9 thousand. True, if we take the Grif data on the number of deaths from wounds 1104.1 thousand people and suppose that those who died from wounds make up 6.5% of the total number of wounded, as shown in the 1946 report, then the total number of wounded will be only 16,986.2 thousand. But we assume that the number of disabled disabled people is more than reliable, because if they underestimated, then first of all - the number of deaths from wounds. In this case, we are actually talking about the number of wounds, and not the wounded, since many fighters were wounded more than once. The number of patients shown in the "Secrecy Removed" at 7641.3 thousand people, of which 86.7% returned to duty, seems to me close to the truth (according to the 1946 report, more than 85% of patients returned to duty). In this case, the total number of wounded and sick can be estimated at 26,708.2 thousand people. In this case, the number of wounded is even less than the number of those killed on the battlefield, which amounted to. according to our estimate, 22.34 million people. The ratio is not 3:1, as is traditionally believed, but 0.85:1. This paradox is easily explained. The fact is that due to the huge losses in the Red Army, it often turned out that during the attack the vast majority of its participants were killed or wounded. Under these conditions, the wounded had little chance of being carried from the battlefield, and most of them died without waiting for help. As noted in a 1946 report, "the losses of porters in some formations reached 80-85% killed and wounded from enemy fire" ". It is clear that with such losses among the orderlies, the losses among the attackers could generally approach 100%, so that most of the wounded could not be carried from the battlefield. In addition, unlike the Wehrmacht, in the Red Army, a significant part of the porters-porters were women, who found it very difficult to pull out a wounded soldier. as active bayonets to participate in attacks.

There are other data about Soviet losses in the wounded and sick. In the archives of the Military Medical Museum in St. Petersburg, more than 32 million registration cards for servicemen who entered in the years

Great Patriotic War in military medical institutions. We are talking here about those who were evacuated to field and rear medical facilities, since there are no personal registration cards for those

71 Logistics of the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War (Russian archive: Great Patriotic. Vol. 25(14)). M.: Terra, 1998. S. 706.

who died or recovered in the medical battalions and regimental medical stations. If we assume that the undercount equally applied to both the wounded and the sick, then the total number of the wounded can be estimated at 22.8 million, and the sick - at 9.2 million. Then the number of wounded and killed will be almost equal to each other - 1.02: 1.

It is known that in the medical battalions and regimental medical posts 10.5% of all wounded, 10.9% of frostbite and 49.3% of patients were returned to service, and in total - about 23.8% of all those injured in battles and sick (including 20.5% - in medical battalions) "3. The proportion of those killed in battles, who died in IMPs and in medical battalions, can be estimated at no more than 5%, since it was 2-2.5 times less than the proportion of those returned to service. The number of patients who died in the PMP and in the medical battalions was negligible. Thus, approximately 27% of all the wounded and sick of the Red Army during the war years were not evacuated. If 32 million casualties and patients on whom registration cards have been preserved is about 73% of their total number, then all sanitary losses can be estimated at 43.9 million people.

An alternative calculation of sanitary losses can be made in terms of the average workload of the final network of evacuation hospitals during the war - 85-87 hit in battles for every 10 beds out of the maximum number deployed. The indicator of the maximum deployment of the end network is 1,719,450 beds". It is also known that during the war years 51.5% of the total number of wounded passed through evacuation hospitals. Since the wounded and shell-shocked soldiers of the Red Army accounted for 96.9% of all those who were wounded in battles, it is possible to attribute the figures for the wounded to all those who were wounded in battles and vice versa without much error. Therefore, the total number of those killed in battles can be estimated at 28.7 million people (including 27.8 million wounded and shell-shocked). The number of patients can be estimated at 15.2 million people, taking into account that the patients were about 34% of all who passed through medical institutions. In total, this gives 43.9 million sanitary losses - a figure that does not differ from the one we received above from the data on the number of personal registration cards of military personnel admitted to military medical institutions. The number of evacuated patients can be estimated at 50.7% of the total number (including those who died in

72 Konasov V.B., Tereshchuk A.B. A new approach to accounting for irretrievable losses during the Great Patriotic War // Questions of History. 1990. No. 6. S. 187.

73 Kapilevich Ya.B. Organization of treatment of lightly wounded // Military Medical Journal. 1970. No. 5. S. 64.

74 Smirnov E.I. Some lessons from the experience of medical support for combat operations of the troops // Military Medical Journal. 1970. No. 5. S. 12.

75 History of World War II 1939-1945. In 12 vols. T. 9. M.: Military Publishing House, 1978. S. 515.

76 Kuzmin M.K. Soviet medicine during the Great Patriotic War. M., 1979. S. 82; Kuvshinsky D.D. Actual problems of staged treatment of modern combat trauma // Military Medical Journal. 1974. No. 5. S. 9.

77 Smirnov E.I. War and military medicine. S. 172.

medical battalions), or 7.7 million people, and the number of evacuees killed in battles  
- 25.8 million people, or 89.9% of the total (this includes those who died in medical battalions).

It is obvious that the figures of casualties given in the book "Secrecy Removed" take into account only those who were evacuated, but the number of these latter is most likely underestimated here. If we take the ratio of the losses of the wounded and killed, including here the lightly wounded, then it will turn out to be 1.2: 1.

The exact size of the losses of the Red Army wounded (or defeated in battle) is not possible at the moment to establish, but various methods of estimation give the total number of wounded, even with the inclusion of the lightly wounded remaining in the ranks, only slightly exceeding the number of those killed.

#### Military losses and censuses of the USSR

Let's see what the size of the underestimation of the population according to the 1939 census should be in order for our estimate of the irretrievable losses of the Red Army at 26.9 million people to be correct.

A careful examination of the Soviet censuses leads to the conclusion that their accuracy gradually improved from 1926 to 1979." As an indicator of the degree of population underestimation, we use the size of the male and female preponderance in different age groups.

According to the 1926 census, in the cohort of 10-19 years, the female preponderance was 516,155 people, which was equal to 3.08% of the number of men in this cohort. Note that if purely biological factors were at work, up to the age of 29 years, the male predominance would remain, which only starting from the age group of 30 years would be replaced by a female preponderance. Cohort 10-19 years old, i.e. persons born in 1907-1916, could not be affected by either the First World War or the Civil War and the repressions associated with them, i.e. factors that contribute to the emergence of female preponderance. Therefore, it can be assumed that the female preponderance at the age of 10-19 arises mainly due to the underestimation of the population in the course of the census. After all, men are distinguished by greater social and territorial mobility than women, and therefore they are less taken into account by statistics than women.

In the 20-29 year old cohort, the 1926 census shows a female preponderance

78 Census data of the Soviet Union are taken from the Demoscope MeeMy website ([Vlr://4etozsore.ga/meeKu/rgl.rvr#1926](http://4etozsore.ga/meeKu/rgl.rvr#1926)). There they are taken from the following sources: All-Union population census of 1926. Moscow: Edition of the Central Statistical Bureau of the USSR, 1928-29. Volume 9. Page 122-125. Volume 10. Page 67-77. Volume 11. P.40-51. Volume 14. Page 26-37. Volume 15. Pages 62-73. Volume 16. Pages. 30-37. Volume 17. Page 46-49; All-Union census of the population of 1939 // RGAE RF (former TsGANKh of the USSR), fund 1562, inventory 336, unit. ridge 966-1001 (Development table f. 15A. National composition of the population in the USSR, republics, regions, districts); All-Union census of the population of 1939. Table f. 11. Age composition of the population // RGAE, f.1562, op. 336, d.604, 607, 608; All-Union population census of 1959. Table 2.5. Distribution of the total population and those who are married by sex and age. RGAE, f.1562, op. 336, d. 1535-1548; All-Union census of the population of 1977. Table 7c. Distribution of the population by sex and age. RGAE RF, f. 1562, op. 336, d.d. 6126-6140.

in 1,425,832 people, which is 11.68% of the number of men in this cohort. However, the consequences of the First World War and the Civil War clearly affected the female preponderance at the age of 25-29. Therefore, we determined the female predominance in the group of 20-24 years old, which was practically not affected by the influence of the First World War and the Civil War, at least in terms of the factors contributing to the creation of the female preponderance. Men of these ages almost did not participate in hostilities and did not become victims of terror. For this group, the female preponderance amounted to 389,000 people, or 5.80% of the number of men.

According to the 1939 census, in the cohort of 10-19 years, the female preponderance was 234,030 people, or 1.27% of the number of men. The relative value of this excess turns out to be 2.4 times less than according to the results of the 1926 census. This speaks in favor of the fact that the population count in 1939 could be significantly more accurate than in 1926.

In 1939, the female preponderance for the 20-24 year old cohort was 455,298, or 6.60% of the male population. Thus, its relative size was even slightly higher than in 1926. The difference could have formed due to the victims of the repressions of 1937-1938, for whom the male preponderance in this group could be up to 50 thousand people.

Human.

The presence of such a large female preponderance in the 20-24 year old cohort indicates that the 1939 census was also characterized by a significant underestimation of the population.

For the cohort of 20-29 years, the female preponderance, according to the 1939 census, amounted to 836,396 people, or 5.56% of the number of men. Most of it probably fell on the underestimation of the male population. In the cohort of 30-39 years, the female preponderance reached 817,754 people, or 6.62% of the number of men. This cohort includes those born in 1900-1909, so there could be no influence on the female preponderance of the First World War, and the influence of the Civil War was

minimal.

In the cohort of 40-49 years, the female preponderance reaches 1,216,863 people, reaching 17.24% of the number of men. There is already a noticeable impact

World War I and Civil Wars. Comparison of the same ages, according to the 1939 and 1959 censuses, does not give much, since in the first case the female preponderance is largely a consequence of the First World War and the Civil War, and in the second - the Second World War. Therefore, we use the data of the 1979 census, where the consequences of the Second World War no longer affected the cohort of 40-49 years old. Here, the female preponderance amounted to 1,411,545 people, or 8.25% of the number of men. This indicator can be considered the closest to the indicator of natural female preponderance in this cohort in the absence of demographic catastrophes. For the 10-19 year old cohort in 1979, there is a male preponderance of 968,277, representing 4.33% of the male population, and for the 20-29 year old cohort, this preponderance is 272,387, or 1.21% of the male population. It is likely that the same male preponderance would have existed in these cohorts in 1939 if there had not been an increased undercount of men compared to women. In order to estimate what was the increased undercount of men compared to women in the 1939 census in the 40-49 year old cohort, let's try

determine what was the total female (or male) preponderance in the 10-39 year old cohorts during the 1979 census. It turns out to be male and is 717,563, which is equal to 1.17% of the male population in these cohorts. Let's compare this figure with the indicator of the female preponderance for the cohorts of 10-39 years of the 1939 census, when it amounted to 1,888,180 people, or 4.12% of the male population. Thus, the increased underestimation of men in 1939 could have amounted to about 5.29% of the male population for ages 10-39. It can be assumed that for the 40-49 cohort in 1939, this figure was also approximately equal to 5.29% of the male population, or 373,381 people.

But the underestimation of the male population in cohorts of 10-49 years in most regions of the USSR by the 1939 census was further intensified due to the fact that in a number of Muslim regions, as well as in some other regions where the positions of traditional religions and the traditional way of life were strong, in these ages there was a significant male preponderance, due to the underestimation of the female population. The female predominance in these regions usually starts at the age of 50 years. In this case, it is difficult to admit that in Central Asia and the Caucasus the population was calculated much more accurately than in other regions of the USSR, so that they showed a real male preponderance at the age of 10-29 years. In fact, the male predominance in this case was formed due to a significant underestimation of the female population. The fact is that Muslims are reluctant to show their women to strangers, including census takers, and their underestimation is typical for most Muslim countries. For the Azerbaijan SSR, the male preponderance at the age of 10 to 49 years was 107,519 people; for the Armenian SSR (aged 10-39 years) - 11,493 people; Tajik SSR - 60,014 people, for the Kazakh SSR - 267,001 people, for the Kirghiz SSR - 30,648 people. In addition, for the Kizlyarsky District of the Ordzhonikidzevsky (now Stavropol) Territory of the RSFSR, the male preponderance was 3723 people, for the Aginsky National District of the Chita Region (at the age of 10-39 years) - 945 people, for the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR (at the age of 20-49 years) - 11,787 people, for the Dagestan ASSR (aged 10-39 years) - 8945 people, for the Kalmyk ASSR - 3842 people, for the Republic of Volga Germans (aged 10-39 years) - 5945 people, for the Chechen-Ingush ASSR (in aged 10-39 years) - 7625 people. Finally, for the indigenous population of the Yakut ASSR (Yakuts and other peoples

Severa), the male preponderance was, according to our estimate, 9159 people. In total, at the age of 10-49 years, for the Yakut ASSR, the male preponderance amounted to 30,526 people (the female preponderance in 1939 began only at the age of 97), but for the non-indigenous population, this preponderance is not a consequence of the underestimation of women, but of the real sharp predominance of men among miners, engaged in gold mining. Interestingly, due to the huge losses of the male population during the Great Patriotic War, after the war, it was necessary to create prison camps in Yakutia in order to provide labor for the extraction of gold and other minerals. Although the first prisoners appeared in Yakutia as early as 1940-1941 in connection with the start of road construction and tin mining

ores

If we take the 1959 census data, we will see that for

Azerbaijan and the republics of Central Asia, the male preponderance at the age of 10-29 years has decreased or been replaced by a female preponderance. Thus, in Azerbaijan, at the age of 20-29, a male preponderance of 4.95% of the number of women appeared, while in 1939 the male preponderance in this cohort was 12.25% of the number of women. And in the cohort of 10-19 years old, the size of the male preponderance in 1939-1959 decreased from 14.80 to 4.26%. For the Turkmen SSR, the male preponderance at the age of 10-19 in 1939 was 14.31%, and in 1959 - 12.45% of the female population. For the cohort of 20-29 years old, the male preponderance in 1939 at 11.29% of the number of women in 1959 was replaced by a female preponderance of 3.38%. For the Uzbek SSR in 1939, the male preponderance in the cohort of 10-19 years old was 10.32% of the number of women, and in the cohort of 20-29 years old - 6.11%. In 1959, in the cohort of 10-19 years old, the male preponderance decreased slightly - to 10.19%. But in the cohort of 20-29 years old, a female preponderance of 7.54% appeared. In the Tajik SSR in 1939, for the cohort of 10-19 years old, the male preponderance reached 18.75%, and for the cohort of 20-29 years old - 9.24%. In 1959, for the cohort of 10-19 years old, the male preponderance was 18.47%, and in the cohort of 20-29 years old, the female preponderance appeared at 11.96% of the female population. In the Kirghiz SSR in 1939, the male preponderance at the age of 10-19 years was 7.36%, and in the cohort of 20-29 years old - 0.69%. In 1959, for the cohort of 10-19 years old, this figure remained almost unchanged - 7.64%, but in the cohort of 20-29 years old, a female preponderance of 6.50% appeared. In the Kazakh SSR in 1939, in the cohort of 10-19 years old, the male preponderance was 3.13%, and in the cohort of 20-29 years old - 26.92%. In 1959, here in the cohort of 10-19 years old, the male preponderance increased to 6.22%, but in the cohort of 20-29 years old it fell to 5.08%. These facts testify to the fact that during the 1959 census the accuracy of counting increased significantly in comparison with the 1939 census.

In total, for the 1939 census, in the cohorts of 10-49 years, the male preponderance for Muslim and other "traditional" regions was 778,164 people. In this case, it is important for us that the female preponderance in the remaining regions of the Soviet Union in the cohorts of 10-49 years old, formed due to the underestimation of men, should be increased by approximately this number.

According to the 1959 census, in the cohort of 10-19 years, the male preponderance was 323,499 people, or 2.01% of the number of men. In the cohort of 20-29 years old, there was a female preponderance of 577,261 people, which amounted to 3.04% of the number of men. These cohorts were practically not affected by the influence of the Second World War, therefore, a decrease in the relative value of the female preponderance by 1.83 times in the cohort 20-29



years and the change of the female predominance to a more natural male predominance in the 10-19 year old cohort, which meant a decrease in the relative value of the female preponderance by 2.58 times, testify to a significant increase in the accuracy of the count compared to the 1939 census. And there is nothing surprising in this. The 1939 census was carried out in conditions when the peak of repression had just passed. In the resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR of July 26, 1938 "On the All-Union Population Census of 1939" (p. 15) it was stated that citizens who evade giving information or who knowingly give false information should be brought to justice. But this could just be an additional reason to avoid meeting with the counter. On the contrary, the 1959 census was carried out at the height of the Khrushchev thaw, when people

the fear generated by the Stalin era has significantly weakened. People now had much less reason to be afraid of contacts with the state. Moreover, the gradual expansion of the pension system and other social benefits, the start of large-scale housing construction encouraged people to register more actively with government agencies. In addition, the educational level of the population has increased, and, accordingly, the level of training of enumerators. If we take the men of the main contingents who participated in the war, then in 1939 they were from 10 to 49 years old, and in 1959, respectively, from 30 to 69 years old. As a result of the war, their numbers dropped sharply. In addition, a significant part of war veterans in 1959 moved into older contingents, in which people have much less territorial mobility and are much more willing to register. Therefore, it can be accepted without great error that the entire undercount of male conscripts, determined due to the presence of a female preponderance, relates entirely to the difference in the accuracy of counting these contingents in the 1939 and 1959 censuses.

Thus, in the cohort of 10-19 years, the difference in the increased undercount of men between the 1939 and 1959 censuses can be estimated at 3.28% of the number of men in this contingent in 1939, or 604.4 thousand people, and in the cohort of 20-29 years old - in 2.52% of the number of men in this contingent in 1939, or 1293.7 thousand people. For the cohort of 30-39 years, the female preponderance in 1939, as we have already established, was 6.62% of the number of men. In 1959, this superiority in this cohort was largely formed under the influence of the Second World War. Therefore, we take for comparison the data of the 1979 census. Then, in the cohort of 30-39 years, the female preponderance amounted to 523,101 people, or 3.52% of the male population. Assuming that the relative size of the female preponderance in this cohort in 1959 would have been approximately the same if the influence of the war could be excluded, the size of the female preponderance in 1939, due to the difference in the accuracy of counting the male population in 1939 and 1959, in this cohort can be estimated at 3.10% of the male population, or 382,936 people. Earlier, in the cohort of 40-49 years old, the underestimation of the male population for the 1939 census was estimated by us at 5.29% of the male population, or 373,381 people. Also, the size of the male preponderance in Muslim and other traditional regions is estimated by us at 778,164 people. Thus, we estimate the total increased undercount of the male population in the draft contingents in the 1939 census, based on the female preponderance, at 3,432.6 thousand people. But this figure also includes the female preponderance, which was formed due to the victims of the terror of 1937-1938, when 681,692 people, mostly men, were sentenced to death. There are no data on the age and sex structure of this contingent. But we can try to spread

for the entire set of data on the victims of the Great Terror buried at the Butovo training ground. In total, 20,761 people were shot and buried here, of which 19,903 were men (96%) and 858 were women (4.13%). If we assume that the sex ratio was approximately the same for all the victims of 1937-1938, then the male preponderance will be approximately 625.4 thousand people. But they also shot people aged 50 and older. There were only 342 people born in 1870 and older out of 20,222 people for whom age data are available, i.e. 1.69%. Was

524 people born in 1888, or 2.6% of the total, were also shot, and more than 1,200 people, or more than 5.9%, were shot in total of people born in 1884-1887. If we assume that for each of the years 1871-1883, as well as for 1889, at least 1% of the victims on average, the total proportion of victims born before 1890 can be estimated at 24.2%. They could account for about 151.3 thousand male preponderance among all the victims of 1937-1938. In this case, those among the executed, who in 1939 would have been from 10 to 49 years old, will account for about 474.1 thousand people of the male preponderance.

In addition, in 1930-1936, 40,137 people were sentenced to death, including 30,852 people in 1930-1931? Among these victims could be a significant number of men who in 1939 would have been 30-49 years old. Their share could be one third less than the proportion of men aged 20-49 among the victims of the repressions of 1937-1938, i.e., only about 46% of all those shot, which gives a male preponderance of about 18.5 thousand people.

Then the total underestimation of men in the cohorts of 10-49 years old, determined on the basis of the female preponderance, can be estimated at 2,940.0 thousand people.

The population of the territories annexed to the USSR in 1939-1940 at the beginning of 1940 was estimated in June 1941 at 23,501.0 thousand people (taking into account approximately 31 thousand inhabitants who remained in the territory of Finland annexed in March 1940)'. How the assessment was made is still unclear. It should also be taken into account that the Moldavian ASSR was included in the Moldavian SSR, which until July 1940 was already part of the Ukrainian SSR. According to the 1939 census, the population of the Moldavian ASSR was 599,156 people. Taking into account that in 1940 the population growth rate of the USSR was 1.4%<sup>32</sup>, and assuming that in 1939 it was the same, by the beginning of 1939 the population of the annexed territories can be estimated at 23,176.5 thousand people, and for minus the population of the Moldavian ASSR - 22,577.3 thousand people.

The male population in the 10-49 year old cohorts, according to the 1939 census, was 52,900,711. There are no data on the size of the male population of these ages in the territories annexed in 1939-1940. If we assume that it was approximately the same proportion among the entire population as on the territory of the USSR within the borders at the beginning of 1939 (the population of the USSR then was 170,557.1 thousand people), then the number of men in the cohorts of 10-49 years early 1939 on those annexed to the USSR

79 Calculations by V.N. Sachkov (Who was shot at the Butovo firing range. The calculation was made according to: Butovo landfill. 1937-1938. Book of memory of victims of political repressions. Issue. 1-7. Moscow: Society "Memorial", 1997-2003.

80 BIR://mgigli.gasagsShuez.gy/euashz/ex WE Note\$/xx\_E/70.5 t

81 Calculation by: Kozhurin V.S. On the Population of the USSR on the Eve of the Great Patriotic War (Unknown Documents) // Military History Journal. 1991. No. 2. pp. 24-26.

82 Ibid. S. 23.

territories can be estimated at 7002.6 thousand people. If we assume that the undercount of men in the annexed territories was approximately the same as in the main territory of the USSR, then the number of men aged 10-49 in the annexed territories should be increased by another 389.2 thousand people. A sign that in the annexed territories in 1941 there was a significant underestimation of the population can be the fact that the second version of the calculation for the Moldavian SSR gave the population of the republic 2515.7 thousand people, which is 108.9 thousand people, or 4.52% more than the original calculation included in the spreadsheet

The total number of men aged 10-49 years on the territory of the USSR within the borders of June 22, 1941 at the beginning of 1939 can be estimated at 63,232.5 thousand people.

According to the 1959 census, the number of males between the ages of 30 and 69, i.e. those cohorts who were actually drafted into the army during the war amounted to 32,857,854 people. However, it must be taken into account that between 1941 and 1959 there were some changes in the Soviet borders. In October 1944, the previously formally independent Tuva People's Republic became part of the USSR. The population of Tuva in 1941 was just over 80 thousand people, and by the beginning of 1944 - 96 thousand people. The bulk of the conscripts were from among the 12,000 Soviet citizens living in Tuva. The vast majority of these were Russians and representatives of other nationalities of the USSR. In addition, 220 Tuvans and representatives of other indigenous peoples of Tuva went to the front as volunteers. In total, about 8 thousand residents of Tuva visited the front. About half of them died, i.e. about 4 thousand, including 69 Tuvan volunteers\*. The population of the Tuva Autonomous Region in 1959 was 171.9 thousand people, and the number of men aged 30-69 years was 25.7 thousand people. The size of the male population of the USSR in 1959 in the corresponding cohorts must be reduced by this amount in order to correctly compare them with 1939.

Also, the Transcarpathian Ukraine became part of the USSR in November 1945. In 1959, the population of the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine was 920.2 thousand people, and the male population aged 30-69 years was 161.2 thousand people. The size of the male population of the USSR in 1959 in the corresponding cohorts must also be reduced by this value for their correct comparison with 1939. It is worth noting that during the war years there was a "voluntary"

83 Ibid. S. 26.

84 Oyun D . Vera and Kyrgyz: Journey into the Past // Center of Asia, 2005, May 13-20, No. 19 a I. For my friends // National accent, 2010, January 21, No. 57 (Appendix

weekly "Arguments of the week")

VN: /Kigmgig.patasset\*.ga/pb\$/pb10131163751.B&1); Aranchyn Yu., Mollerov N . To the 60th anniversary of the Great Victory. Contribution of Tuva // New researches of Tuva (BER:///orili'.biua.as1a/projec\*.5 11); Kommersant-Vlast, 2005, May 30, No. 21 (Letters section). (Vlt://mmgi.Coptegzat.ga/4os.azrh?

Sun\$W=581324).

mobilization of the population of Transcarpathia in the Red Army. In addition, part of the natives of Transcarpathia was mobilized into the Hungarian army.

The inclusion in the USSR in 1944-1946 of the Kaliningrad region, South Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands, as well as Petsamo (Pechenga) had practically no effect on the demographic balance, since almost the entire German, Japanese and Finnish population was repatriated, and among the few remaining there were no conscripts ages.

In 1944-1951 there was an exchange of territory and population between the USSR and Poland. As a result, the regions of Przemyśl, Sanok and Białystok with adjacent territories were transferred to Poland. Taking into account the fact that the population of the Białystok region at the beginning of 1940 was estimated at 1348.3 thousand people, up to 60 thousand inhabitants lived in Przemyśl and its environs, and up to 40 thousand people lived in Sanok, by the beginning of 1939 the population of these territories can be estimated at 1.4 million people. In addition, 518 thousand people left Poland for the USSR in 1945-1946, and 1,090 thousand people left the USSR for Poland. In 1946, 24 thousand people left Czechoslovakia for the USSR, and 33 thousand people left in the opposite direction. In addition, about 14 thousand Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews repatriated to Romania. Also, about 100 thousand people left the USSR for Poland in 1956-1958. Taking into account these exchanges of population and territory, the population of the USSR by the beginning of 1959 decreased by about 1.1 million people.

Significant groups of Russian emigrants from European countries and China - up to 50 thousand people - were forcibly and voluntarily repatriated to the USSR. In addition, up to 250,000 Armenians\*6 returned home voluntarily. On the other hand, about 620 thousand former Soviet prisoners of war and civilians who were taken to work in Germany, as well as those who left with the German army, preferred to stay in the West." Due to this, the population of the USSR, compared with the pre-war period, should have decreased by another 320 thousand people. The total decrease in the population of the USSR compared to the pre-war level due to changes in post-war borders and external migrations can be estimated at about 1.4 million people. In 1959, the male population aged 30-69 years for this population can be estimated at about 237 thousand people. This value should be added to the male population aged 30-69 in 1959.

Now it is necessary to estimate what excess mortality during the war years among the civilian population falls on those who in 1939 were from 10 to 49 years old. The excess death rate of prisoners in

in Soviet camps during the war years (in comparison with the pre-war level of 1940) amounted to at least 391 thousand people<sup>38</sup>. Share of women in

85 Polyak P. Options: with whom and when in the XX century Russia exchanged population // Russia and its regions in the XX century: territory - resettlement - migration / Ed. O. Glezer and P. Polyak. - M.: OGI, 2005. S. 536-544.

86 Why we returned to our homeland. M., 1983. P. 96. 87 Zemskov V.N. Repatriation and the second wave of emigration // Motherland. 1991. No. 6-7. S. 111.

88 Zemskov V.N. GULAG (Historical and sociological aspect) // Sociological research. 1991. No. 6. S. 14.

During the war, the Gulag increased from 7 to 26% due to the mobilization of male prisoners into the army. By the way, at least 975 thousand prisoners were sent to the front, as well as 117 thousand camp guards<sup>86</sup>. It is not clear whether these 1,092,000 people were counted by the authors of the book "Secrecy Removed" among those mobilized into the Red Army.

The average proportion of women among the deceased prisoners can be estimated at 11.5%, or 45 thousand people. The proportion of men of military age in excess mortality in prisons and camps should be less than the proportion of men of these ages in the total number of those shot in 1937-1938, since among the latter there was a lower proportion of women and a higher proportion of those who by the beginning of 1939 should have been 10-49 years old. Indeed, during the war, many prisoners were drafted into the army, which significantly increased the proportion of non-conscription ages in the camp population. Therefore, the total share of men of military age in the excess mortality of the Gulag can be estimated at three-quarters of the total number of men who died, i.e. approximately

260 thousand people.

In total, in 1941-1945, 476,615 people were convicted of counter-revolutionary crimes, of which 42,139 people were sentenced to death (this does not include people sentenced to death by tribunals in the army) <sup>3</sup>. Probably at least 40 thousand death sentences falls during the war. Three-quarters of them may have been men of military age, which is about 30 thousand people.

Direct losses from the deportations of approximately 2.3 million Germans, Ingrian Finns, Karachays, Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Balkars, Crimean Tatars and Crimean Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, Turks and Iranians are estimated at 0.5 million people. Since the elderly, women and children predominated among the deportees, there were hardly more than one-fifth of the men of military age among those who died during the deportation, that is, about 100 thousand people.

It is also necessary to estimate the number of dead civilian men from the draft cohorts in the occupied territories. The most common estimate of the number of Soviet Jews killed by the Nazis is 1.5 million. Considering that the vast majority of victims of the Holocaust, as in the case of the deportations of "punished peoples",

carried out by the NKVD were women, children and the elderly, it can be assumed that the proportion of draft ages hardly exceeded 20%,

89 The contribution of Gulag prisoners to the victory in the Great Patriotic War. Publication by V.A. Pronko and V.N. Zemskova // New and recent history. 1996. No. 5. S. 134.

90 Ibid.

91 Information about the number of convicts in cases of the NKVD - MGB - MVD 1939-1953. December 11, 1953 // Historical and documentary exhibition "XX Congress of the CPSU. Overcoming ... "Archives of Russia (Vlr://mi.gazagsShuez.ga/euat(5/ex 1 op5\$/xx\_1/68.\$6 11)

92 Polyan P.M. Not of my own free will ... - M.: United Humanitarian Publishing House, 2000. S. 239; He is. Demographic losses of the deported peoples of the USSR // Polit. ru, 2004, February 27 (Ber://mimi'.rosh.hy/geaseags/2004/02/27/4etossore147 611).

or 0.3 million people. The number of victims of the genocide of the Roma carried out by the Nazis is estimated on the territory of the USSR at 30 thousand people. Among them could be up to 10 thousand men of military age.

The total losses of Soviet partisans in dead and missing are estimated by us at no less than 100 thousand people. Perhaps the losses of the collaborationist formations opposing them were the same. Suppose that half of the dead partisans did not serve in the Red Army and that the same proportion of those who did not serve there were among the dead collaborators. Then it is possible to estimate the number of victims of hostilities among men of military age in the occupied territories at 100 thousand people. It can also be assumed that the irretrievable losses of the fighters of the Polish Home Army, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, as well as the losses of anti-Soviet partisans in the Baltic states, who had not previously served in the Red Army and lived on Soviet territory by June 22, 1941, during the Second World War and post-war years amounted to a total of at least 100 thousand people. It is very difficult to estimate the casualties of mainly German, but also Soviet punitive expeditions among men of military age who did not serve in the Red Army and did not directly participate in hostilities. Suppose that there were at least as many of them as the dead Soviet partisans, that is, about 100 thousand people.

Thus, the total number of victims of violent death among male conscripts who did not serve in the Red Army can be estimated by summing up the victims of excess death in the Gulag, the Holocaust and partisan struggle, at 1.1 million people. The number of draft contingents according to the 1939 census should be reduced by this number.

Men who at the time of the 1939 census made up cohorts of 10-49 years old died not only in the Great Patriotic War, but also in the two armed conflicts that preceded it - a clash with the Japanese at Khalkhin Gol in May - September 1939 and in the Soviet -Finnish war in November 1939 - March 1940. At Khalkhin Gol, Soviet losses amounted to 9703 killed, missing, died from wounds, diseases and accidents. In the Soviet-Finnish war, the Red Army lost about 164.3 thousand people dead." These losses, which totaled 174 thousand people, must be reduced

the number of the male population of military age according to the 1939 census.

It should be noted that a large number of women served in the Red Army during the Great Patriotic War. At least 800 thousand women were

93 See: Sokolov B.V. Front to front line. Guerrilla war 1939-1945 M.: Veche, 2008. S. 119-120.

94 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. Losses of the armed forces. Statistical research. M.: Olma-Press, 2001. S. 179.

95 Apothecary P.C. A. Are the sacrifices justified? // Military history magazine. 1992. No. 3. S. 43-45. The books of accounting for the irretrievable losses of the Red Army in the Soviet-Finnish war contain the names of 131,476 dead.

However, according to P.A. Apothecary, in these books there are no names of about 20% of the dead, which appear as such in the lists of units and in the initial reports of losses. With this amendment, we estimate the total number of deaths at 164.3 thousand people.

called up as volunteers, and many served in combat units as pilots, anti-aircraft gunners, snipers, machine gunners, mortar and submachine gunners. % And at the final stage of the war, women from the liberated territories and from among the "Ostarbeiters" were mobilized into the army. Probably, in total, at least 1 million women served in the Red Army, of which up to 100 thousand could die or die from diseases and in captivity. V.S. Murmantseva also believes that more than 1 million women served in the Red Army."

Unlike the German database of irretrievable losses, the Russian OBD "Memorial" has a significant number of cards for the dead female soldiers. For example, there is such a card for sniper Roza Shanina, born in 1924, even two, and the second, describing her burial in the Kaliningrad region, indicates her middle name - Sergeevna, which does not coincide with her traditional middle name - Egorovna in published biographies. It is also mentioned in the biographies that Roza Shanina died in battle on January 28, 1945, while the biographies state that she died of her wounds on that day\*8.

In total, 16 personalities were found for the name of Shanin in the Memorial OBD. With the exception of duplicates and the survivors, four Shanins remain, who are definitely dead military personnel, as well as one Shanin, who is a missing civilian employee of the military department, and another Shanin is a dead nurse without a military rank. In addition, Natalya Shanina, aged 20, was buried in Germany on August 24, 1944. It is impossible to say with certainty about her whether she was a prisoner of war or belonged to the "Eastern workers".

Considering that a significant number of female personalities were found when requesting the far from the most common Russian surname Shanin, it can be assumed that the number of female personalities in the database is significant. However, in response to requests for individual years of birth, in particular 1920 and 1924, the OBD issues 1,000 exclusively male personalities each. This,

probably due to the peculiarity of the program, which primarily gives out male personalities. Therefore, it is not possible to assess what part of the Memorial database is made up of female personalities.

More than 500 or even 1000 personalities are issued in the Memorial Unified Databank of Irrecoverable Losses for requests for the most common Russian surnames Ivanova, Smirnova, Kuznetsova, etc. (this is the maximum number of personalities that can be issued in response to one query this computer program) 3. Of course, there is a double count in the database. In addition, the database sometimes contains

96 Schneer A. Plen. T. 1. Jerusalem, 2003. S. 297.

97 V. S. Murmantseva. Soviet women in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945. M.: Thought, 1979. S. 269-270.

98 Time:/mgili. buffer1 \$ ogu.gi / 719 / 7

99 Vlr://M^"m.obchpletaogla1.ha/

"Eastern workers" buried in Germany who did not serve in the Red Army. But the fact that the victims among female soldiers number in the tens of thousands is beyond doubt. Taking into account losses among women, the total number of men who died in the Red Army should be reduced to 26.8 million people.

Now it is necessary to estimate what part of the men from the cohorts of 10-49 years old in 1939 could have died of natural causes before the beginning of 1959. To do this, we use the method of approximate calculation of natural expected mortality for these age cohorts for the selected period, using age-specific mortality rates for 1938-1939 and for 1958-1959<sup>9</sup>. To do this, we multiply the male population of each of the cohorts by the average mortality for this cohort in the period 1939-1959, and then multiply by the number of years in the period (20). For men in a cohort of 10-19 years of about 21,714.0 thousand people, the expected natural mortality for the period will be approximately 1,194.3 thousand people. For a cohort of 20-29 years of about 18,598.9 thousand people, this figure will be approximately 1,441.4 thousand people. For a cohort of 30-39 years of about 14,620.4 thousand people, natural mortality will be approximately 1,535.1 thousand people. Finally, for a cohort of 40-49 years of about 8,763.1 thousand people, the natural mortality rate can be estimated at about 1,384.6 thousand people. In total, the natural mortality for men of the cohort 10-49 years old in the period 1939-1959 can be estimated at 5555.4 thousand people. However, this number seems to be significantly overestimated, since the men of the conscript contingents, due to the outbreak of World War II, were much less likely to die of natural causes than could be judged on the basis of pre-war theoretical calculations. As we have already established, among the men of the contingent of 10-49 years old, about 28.1 million people by the middle of 1945 died not of natural, but of violent death. These men make up about 44.4% of the total number of cohorts aged 10-49. Therefore, the value of natural mortality for 1939-1959 should be



reduce according to this proportion to 3088.8 thousand people.

Now let's try to calculate the balance. From the difference in the number of men 10-49 years old in 1939 and the same contingent in 1959, it is necessary to subtract both the number of those men who died in the period 1939-1959 not in the Soviet Armed Forces during the Great Patriotic War, and losses in battles on Khalkhin Gol and the Soviet-Finnish war. In addition, it is necessary to take into account the change in the balance due to external migrations and changes in borders. The total number of deceased Soviet soldiers of the Red Army in the cohorts of 10-49 years of the 1939 census can be estimated at 26,062.1 thousand people.

For completeness of calculations, the number of Soviet military losses of 26.8 million people must be reduced by the losses of the population of Transcarpathia and Tuva, as well as by the losses of older and younger ages. You can find out what ages were actually drafted into the Red Army using the Memorial OBD. So, to a request by the name of Ivanov in 1930

100 Population of the countries of the world. Handbook / Ed. B.Ts. Uralnis. M.: Statistics, 19774. S. 134, tab. 57; Merkov A.M., Polyakov L.E. Sanitary statistics (a guide for doctors). M.: Medicine, 1974. S. 247, tab. 116.

OBD "Memorial" issued 12 names, of which 2 really turned out to be Red Army soldiers who died or went missing in 1942-1944.

For the surname Ivanov born in 1889, there are 53 personalities in the Memorial OBD, including 36 military personnel, including 2 senior and 1 junior officer, and in 1888 - 39 personalities, of which at least 23 people were killed and missing military personnel including 2 officers. The Ivanovs born in 1887 are represented in the database by 32 names, 20 of which turned out to be dead or missing ordinary Red Army soldiers, and one - a dead senior officer. 1886 is represented by 10 surnames, of which 7 are Red Army soldiers. In 1885, there are 17 families, of which 8 are dead and missing Red Army soldiers, and 2 are officers. The year 1884 in the surname "Ivanov" is represented by 14 entries, behind which are 4 dead or missing Red Army soldiers. Since 1883, one of the Ivanovs' list turns out to be a missing Red Army soldier, and since 1882 there are even two of them. The oldest of the Ivanovs is the Red Army soldier Fedor Ivanovich Ivanov, who was born in 1876 in the village of B. Kolotilovo in the Porkhov district of the Leningrad region, was called up by the Kirov RVC of Leningrad and died of illness in the hospital on March 13, 1942. By the way, at the end of October 2010, there were 313 persons born in 1876 in the OBD, of which at least 37 dead and missing privates and sergeants and 3 officers, including one major, were military personnel. It must be said that for many people born in 1876, as well as other elderly people buried in Germany and Austria, it is generally impossible to say with certainty whether they are prisoners of war or "Ostarbeiters", so it is possible that even in the OBD there are significantly more Red Army soldiers who died in captivity, born before 1890. There were even more persons born in 1875 in the OBD - 328, among which, however, there are many victims of the First World War and the Civil War. Of these, died and went missing in the Red Army as

minimum 29 people, including 3 officers. For the 1874 year of birth, the card index contains 261 personalities, but those who died there are mostly senior officers, for 1873 - 251, for 1872 - 196, for 1871 - 159 and for 1870 - 145. For 1869, the OBD contains 97 personalities, in 1868 - 100 and in 1867 - 82. Of these last 3 dead are ordinary Red Army soldiers, and one is a dead officer. In 1866, out of 94 personalities, 5 belonged to the dead and missing Red Army soldiers and 1 to a dead Red Army woman. In 1865, out of 61 personalities, only one was a Red Army soldier. But in 1864, out of 84 personalities, 4 of the dead turned out to be ordinary Red Army soldiers, and 1 - an officer. In 1863, only 8 personalities were found, despite the fact that all of them had a 1863 year of birth in doubt (1864 was indicated as an alternative). None of them were Red Army soldiers. But in 1862, out of 35 personalities, 1 junior officer died in captivity and 1 soldier with an unknown rank went missing. In 1861, out of 41 personalities, 1 was Senior Sergeant Sergei Fedorovich Sarychev, who died on December 11, 1941, and was buried in the village of Sokol, Vologda Region. Since in 1860 not a single Red Army soldier could be found out of 63 personalities, S.F. Sarychev is probably

the oldest Red Army soldier who died in the Great Patriotic War.

Of course, the losses at these ages were incomparable with the losses at the main draft ages. For example, for the surname "Ivanov" born in 1920 and 1924, the OBD "Memorial" issues the maximum number of requests - 1000 each, and for the same surname with the year of birth 1928 - only 83, and for 1929 - only 24 surnames. However, it is interesting that in the latter case, out of 24 names, 12 belong to the dead or missing Red Army soldiers, and one belongs to an officer - junior lieutenant Vladimir Illarionovich Ivanov, who died on January 29, 1944, commander of a machine gun platoon of the 985th rifle regiment of the 226th guards rifle division. At the time of his death, he was most likely still 14 years old, and, perhaps, he is the youngest officer of the Red Army to die in battle. Thus, the number of victims among the natives of 1929 turns out to be an order of magnitude greater than among the natives of 1930, which justifies the inclusion of the cohort of natives of 1925-1929 in the draft contingents. By the way, there are 275 surnames for the Ivanovs born in 1927 in the Memorial OBD, 115 for the Petrovs, and 105 for the Kuznetsovs.

What is even more interesting is that there were more than 1000 persons born in 1889 in the OBD, i.e. their total number cannot be determined using the electronic version of the program. The same picture for 1886-1888. For 1885 alone, the number of personalities falls below a thousand, amounting to 980. For 1883-1884, this figure again exceeds 1,000. For 1882, it is 997, and only for 1881 drops sharply to 685.

For 1930, the number of personalities in the OBD also reaches 1000. But for 1931, it drops to 726, and the vast majority of them are either those who died among the "Ostarbeiters" or military personnel who died after the war. Although there are among the natives of 1931 a certain number of pupils (sons) of regiments - orphans, who were taken care of by the Red Army, or sons of senior officers and generals who fought with their parents.

So significant, by the standards of other armies, the presence in the Red Army of elderly or, conversely, very young ages

probably due to the fact that many were willing to volunteer to join the army in order to receive rations. In addition, during the mobilization directly in the unit, including among the "Ostarbeiters", they took everyone who was able to hold a weapon, including those of non-conscription ages. The given data suggest that the irretrievable losses of conscripts of ages outside the cohort of 1890-1929 years of birth could collectively reach the first tens of thousands of people, taking into account the fact that losses in the ages of 1930, as well as 1882-1889 years of birth, are statistically significant. Naturally, conscripts from these contingents relatively rarely got to the front line. They tried to use in rear services. Therefore, the proportion of irretrievable losses among them was significantly lower than in the main draft ages. The total number of those mobilized at non-conscription ages could reach hundreds of thousands of people, including during the mobilization directly in the unit, during the mobilization of the released "Ostarbeiters", as well as in the divisions of the people's militia, where there were many elderly people. This factor significantly increased the mobilization ability of the USSR.

The number of dead military personnel in the Transcarpathian region can be estimated based on the fact that by the time the "voluntary" mobilization of the inhabitants of Transcarpathia into the Red Army began, the population here could be 850-900 thousand people!'. A number of local residents were drafted into the Hungarian army, but it is unlikely that the death toll among them exceeded several thousand people. The population of Transcarpathia was less than one fifteenth of the population of Hungary. At the same time, the Ukrainian population that prevailed in Transcarpathia was almost never drafted into the Hungarian army due to political disloyalty. The Hungarians, on the other hand, made up no more than a quarter of the population of Transcarpathia, they could account for no more than one sixtieth of the irretrievable losses of Hungary, which amounted to about 160 thousand people. Of this number, the inhabitants of Transcarpathia could account for up to 3 thousand dead. The population of Transcarpathia was about one two hundredth of the population of the USSR. If it had been drafted into the Red Army from the very beginning of the war, its losses could have been estimated at 100-120 thousand dead. However, considering that the Transcarpathians fought in the Red Army for only the last eight months of the war and that the losses among untrained conscripts were especially high, the real losses were unlikely to exceed 40 thousand people. The population of Transcarpathia was about 10 times higher than the population of Tuva, and the intensity of the participation of the two territories in the war was approximately the same, so the estimate of 40 thousand dead Transcarpathians seems close to reality.

In total, the loss of the population of Transcarpathia, Tuva, as well as those born in 1868-1889 and 1930 can be estimated at about 100 thousand people. Then the total irretrievable losses of those Soviet military personnel who were 10-49 years old in 1939, within the borders of mid-1941, can be estimated at 26.7 million people. This is about 0.6 million more than the losses of the Red Army, calculated by the balance method. The difference, most likely, arises due to the underestimation of men by the 1939 census and the calculation in the territories annexed in 1939-1940, in cohorts 10-49 years old, the compensated underestimation of women. Then the total compensated account can be estimated at no less than 1.2 million people, of which about 140,000 people account for the official 1941 estimate. In this case, the compensated undercount of the 1939 census in the cohorts of 10-49 years is 1.06 million people, and the total undercount in these contingents is 4.8 million people. In other age cohorts, the underreporting was likely much less

significant. It can be estimated at 10% of the underestimation in cohorts aged 10-49, i.e. about 0.5 million people. Then the total underestimation of the 1939 census can be estimated at 5.3 million people, or 3.1%. This result is quite consistent with the data on the previous census, in 1937, the results of which were rejected. The commission for checking the results of the 1937 census under the leadership of Ya.A. Yakovleva estimated the size of the underestimation from 4.8 to 8.1 million people, that is, from 3 to 5%'.

101 I.V. Stalin in 1939 estimated the population of Transcarpathia at 800 thousand people (See: Stalin I.V. Questions of Leninism, 11th ed. M., 1939. P. 511).

102 Aralovets N.A. . Losses of the population of the Soviet society in the 30s: Problems, sources, methods of study in Russian historiography // Otechestvennaya istoriya. 1995. No. 1. S. 136.

It can be assumed that in reality the 1937 census undercount was closer to 5%, while for the 1939 census the undercount rate lies rather between 3 and 3.5%. Since this indicator cannot be more than 3.5%, the additional undercount is most likely due to the compensated undercount of those men in the cohorts aged 10-49 who, being civilians, died of malnutrition and disease during the war years and during the famine of 1946- 1947 years. Such an underestimation could reach up to 0.7 million people, including 0.35 million men. Therefore, we will accept an undercount for the 1939 census in the amount of 3.1 to 3.5% and a corresponding undercount in the territories annexed in 1939-1940.

Thus, our assessment of the irretrievable losses of the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War, in principle, does not contradict the results of the 1939 and 1959 population censuses.

The amount of underestimation of the population by the census is determined not so much by the good or evil will of the census organizers, but by the socio-political and socio-economic situation in the country at the time of the census. Therefore, the degree of undercounting of the population could not differ too much in the 1937 and 1939 censuses, given that the gap between them was only two years. In addition, it was during these two years that the peak of the Great Terror occurred, and this event could in no way contribute to improving the accuracy of population records. And the fact that Stalin repressed the organizers of the 1937 census, accusing them of a significant underestimation of the population, is subject to unconditional condemnation. Even if there really was an underestimation, it was not their fault.

Checking the assessment of the irretrievable losses of the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War according to the OBD "Memorial"

We can try to check the figure of losses of the Red Army by the dead in 26.9 million people using the Memorial OBD. To do this, we must try to make a sample and estimate what percentage of the sample are those who died from wounds. This category of losses was taken into account most fully and accurately. There are 1104 thousand people who died from wounds! 3. For verification, we need to determine what proportion of those who died from wounds among all the dead and missing, in

including those who were lucky enough to survive captivity, as well as those who were surrounded, but were not captured. According to our estimates, approximately 2.3 million Soviet servicemen survived the captivity. In addition, about 940 thousand people were encircled. In our opinion, up to 450 thousand encircled people were actually captured, but they managed to hide this fact. Then the total number of survivors among the missing can be estimated at 2.8 million people. Note that not all of the surviving missing had a chance to live to see the end of the war. Many of them were drafted into the army and were killed or died for other reasons, for which we have enough examples in the WDS. If we proceed from the fact that the total number of dead and missing Soviet

103 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 237, tab. 120.

military personnel can be estimated at 29.7 million people, then the proportion of those who died from wounds among them should be estimated at 3.7%. There is no doubt that in the Memorial OBD this proportion will be significantly higher, since the Red Army counted those who died from wounds much more accurately than those killed and missing. However, the identified indicator will help us determine which estimate is closer to the true one - ours or the official one.

But the OBD electronic archive can issue no more than 1 thousand personalities per request. For this thousand, it is impossible to make a representative sample, since it includes those persons who are in the documents entered into the data bank in the first place. For example, if we take 1000 personalities according to the year of birth, then the percentage of those who died from wounds will be very low, since the lion's share of the personalities shown will fall on the reports of the first months of the war with a sharp predominance of those killed and missing. Therefore, we took a different path. We found such surnames that are not too common, but not unique, and are represented in the HBS by a number of personalities, although less than a thousand, but reaching about 700-900 personalities. In this case, in response to a request, the electronic archive will give us all the personalities belonging to the totality of persons with a given surname, and this will not depend on the order of entering data into the ODB, or on the electronic archive program. For analysis, we chose four surnames: one Russian, one Ukrainian, one Belarusian and one Muslim. These names are: Petrishchev, Ivanchuk (Ivanchukov, Ivanchuk) Yushkevich and Nuraliev (Nuraleev). In the process of research, we exclude, if possible, duplicates, i.e. cases where the same person appears in the database repeatedly. However, in those cases where a person was first captured and then released, re-conscripted into the army and subsequently died or went missing, we consider him as an independent person in the event of his repeated disappearance. There will always be some subjective moment in determining the number of takes, since there are no absolutely objective criteria for their selection. Persons with the same first and middle names and years of birth may turn out to be different people. On the contrary, persons may differ in year of birth and patronymic, but in fact they may turn out to be the same person.

We also cleared the sample from the wounded, deserters and persons sentenced to imprisonment.

Petrishchevs turned out to be 906 personalities, and among them 83 personalities who died from wounds. After the removal of the duplicates, the number of those who died from wounds fell to 28, and the total number of those killed, dead and missing was 593.

deaths from wounds for this family is 4.7%.

Ivanchukov (as well as Ivanchukov and Ivanchukov, who in some cases form doubles with this surname) turned out to be 898 personalities (including 16 Ivanchukov). The number of deaths from wounds among them reached 93. After cleaning from duplicates, the number of deaths from wounds was 36, and the total number was 625. The proportion of deaths from wounds for this family was 5.8%.

There are 749 personalities of the Yushkevichs in the OBD, including 75 who died from wounds. After clearing the duplicates of those who died from wounds, 31 remained, and the total number of dead and missing decreased to 520. The proportion of those who died from wounds for this surname is 6.0%.

There were 947 Nuralievs (Nuraleevs), including 44 Nuraleevs. There are 70 dead from wounds, and after cleaning from duplicates - 37. General

the same number of dead and missing after the exclusion of duplicates is 776. The proportion of deaths from wounds for this surname is 4.8%.

The total number of deaths from wounds for four families is 321 personalities, and the total number of dead and missing is 3500 personalities. The same indicators after cleaning from duplicates will be 132 and 2514, respectively. The proportion of those who died from wounds for the entire population is 5.25%. Such a low percentage of those who died from wounds in the irretrievable losses of the Red Army proves that in its total losses the proportion of the wounded was several times less than in the total losses of the armies of Germany and other countries participating in World War II.

The proportion of those who actually died from wounds, cleared of duplicates, is 41.1% in relation to the number of personalities who died from wounds not cleared of duplicates. For the correctness of the comparison, the personalities of the remaining victims must be cleared of those persons who entered the database by mistake. These are the wounded, deserters, sentenced to imprisonment, as well as those who died (died) before June 22, 1941 or after September 1945. Such personalities, in contrast to personalities who died from wounds, by definition do not fall into the database of personalities who died from wounds. There are a total of 62 such personalities for four surnames. Then the proportion of the remaining dead and missing in relation to the number of corresponding personalities, minus convicts, deserters, etc., will be 76.4%. Among those who died from wounds, the proportion of duplicates reaches 58.9%, i.e. almost two thirds, and among the rest of the dead, it is only 23.6%, or less than one quarter. This is a weighty indirect evidence that in the Memorial OBD, those who died from wounds are taken into account much more fully than the rest of the dead and missing. If the same person entered the database not in one, but in two or more documents, then the probability that he will be included in the corresponding database increases significantly.

Since the proportion of those who died from wounds among all the dead and missing in the Memorial OBD is 5.25%, then the total number of dead and missing recorded in this database, excluding duplicates, can be estimated at 21.1 million people, of which at least 19.1 million are the dead, and about 2.0 million are the surviving prisoners and encircled. About 8.6 million dead and missing are likely to remain outside the Memorial HBS, including about 7.8 million dead and about 0.8 million remaining missing. In reality, the number of survivors is slightly lower than stated.

us, as some of them died after the second call.

If our calculations are correct, then, having excluded 1.1 million who died from wounds, we will find that at present, out of 28.6 million dead and missing, only 20.0 million, or 69.9%, are now taken into account.

If the official figure of irretrievable losses of 8668 thousand dead and 2776 thousand survivors of the missing were correct, which gives irretrievable losses of 11 444 thousand people, the proportion of those who died from wounds in the Memorial OBD should have been significantly higher than 5.25%. Even if we assume the completely unbelievable, namely, that almost all the irretrievable losses of the Red Army are included in the OBD, then the proportion of those who died from wounds should be 9.6%. In reality, this figure should be several percent higher. To assess the same S.A. Ilyenkov at 13

850 thousand dead, taking into account approximately 2.8 million missing, survivors, the proportion of those who died from wounds should have been 6.6% only under the incredible condition that almost all the dead and missing are included in the HBS. In reality, in this case, this indicator should have been several percent higher. Here it should be noted that S.A. Ilyenkov dealt with the database at the end of 2000, while over the past 10 years, the Memorial OBD has been replenished with millions of new personalities.

Estimation of the total size of Soviet losses and losses of the civilian population of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War

The total irretrievable losses of the population of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War, including excess mortality from natural causes, can be calculated by estimating the population at the beginning and end of the war, as well as the natural movement of the population and the balance of external migrations during the war. The calculations made on the basis of Soviet population censuses also make it possible to approximately estimate the total military losses of the population of the USSR, both military and civilians. The total population at the beginning of the Great Patriotic War can be estimated based on the estimate of V.S. Kozhurin, the population of the USSR by the beginning of 1941 was 198.7 million people. According to the assessment of the population of the USSR, conducted in June 1941, the difference between the preliminary and re-assessment of the population of the Khabarovsk Territory at the beginning of 1940 was 72.6 thousand people (1538.0 and 1610.6), or 4.7%. This indicator turns out to be even greater than the indicator of the probable undercount in the 1939 census. "" However, according to the 1959 census data, in 1941 there was a significant drop in the birth rate, probably due to a significant increase in the size of the army in 1940 and early 1941. By the beginning of 1959, the number of people aged 20, i.e. those born in 1940, amounted to 48,390.0 thousand people, and the number of people aged 19, i.e. born in 1941, was only 43,165.0 thousand people. If we assume that the birth rate has declined in approximately the same proportion as these cohorts relate to each other, then for 1941 it can be estimated at 2.78%. If we assume that the death rate in 1940 and the first half of 1941 was approximately the same, then the level of natural increase for 1941 in the absence of war can be estimated at 1%, and the actual volume of natural increase in the first half of 1941 - about 1 million people.

the population of the USSR by June 22, 1941, without adjusting for the underestimation of the 1939 census, can be estimated at 199.7 million people, and adjusted for such an underestimation - at 205.9-206.7 million people. If we subtract from this the losses in the battles in Finland and Khalkhin Gol, probably not taken into account in the statistics of 1939-1941, the population at the beginning of the Great Patriotic War can be estimated at 205.7-206.5 million people.

The population of the USSR at the beginning of 1946 based on the population estimate in 1950, taking into account the natural increase in this year

104 Kozhurin V.S. Decree. op. S. 26.

can be estimated at 167 million people<sup>9</sup>. Due to the annexation of Tuva and

Transcarpathia, the population of the USSR by the beginning of 1946 was to increase by at least 0.9 million people, and due to the return of the Bialystok region and some other territories to Poland, it should decrease, taking into account losses in the war, also by about 0.9 million people. In addition, due to external migrations, by the beginning of 1946, the population should have decreased by 0.9 million people. In 1940, the birth rate was 3.12%, the death rate was 1.80%, and the natural increase was 1.32%<sup>16</sup>. The average annual level of natural mortality in 1941-1945, excluding military losses at the level of 1940, can be estimated at 3.4 million people, with an average population for the war of 187 million people. Of the 6.1 million people born in 1940<sup>17</sup>, 4.8 million people survived by the beginning of 1959. The average survival index up to 1959 for people of this year of birth can be estimated at 78.7%. Then the total number of those born in 1942-1945 can be estimated at 15.4 million people, given that in 1959 there were 12.155 million people of these ages, and the approximate number of those who died of natural causes over these years was 13.6 million people. Then the conditional natural increase over these years, covered by military losses, can be estimated in 1942-1945 at 1.8 million people. To this must be added another approximately 0.5 million conventional natural increase in the second half of 1941. Then the total population losses in the war can be estimated by subtracting 167.9 million people from 205.7-206.5 million people and adding 2.3 million people. The total losses of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War will amount to 40.1-40.9 million people. The losses of the civilian population, including excess mortality, can be estimated by subtracting the loss of military personnel from 13.2-13.9 million people from the total losses. These losses are, of course, the largest among all the states participating in the Second World War and account for at least half of all losses in this war.

In the occupied territories and in the frontline, a particularly strong decline in the birth rate was observed in large cities. So, in besieged Leningrad in 1943, the birth rate dropped to zero. In Moscow, from 1941 to 1943, the birth rate decreased by 2.6 times. In occupied Dnepropetrovsk in 1942, the birth rate reached only 34% of the pre-war<sup>18</sup>. At the same time, in the occupied countryside, where a significant part of the townspeople moved in search of food, the drop in the birth rate was probably not so significant. The effect of reducing mortality from natural

105 Polyakov L.E. The cost of war. M., 1985. S. 87; Brook S.I. Population of the world: Ethno-demographic reference book: M., 1981. S. 198.



106 Brook S.I. Decree. op. S. 198.

107 Population of the countries of the world. S. 63, tab. 17. There is another estimate of the number of those born in 1940 - 5709 thousand people, possibly not taking into account the birth rate in the annexed territories (Winter V. Famine in the USSR of 1946-1947: Origin and consequences. M.: Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1996 pp. 155).

108 Historical geography of the USSR. M.: Higher school, 1973. S. 280; Questions of protection of motherhood and childhood: The period of war and blockade. M., 1946. S. 26; Medical and sanitary consequences of the war and measures to eliminate them. M., 1948. T.1. S. 51.

reasons here could also be observed due to a decrease in the birth rate and a fall in the infant mortality rate for this reason. In addition, many residents of the occupied territories and the frontline died from causes related to the war - during hostilities or as a result of repression by the occupying authorities, which reduced their likelihood of dying of natural causes.

We also note that in the losses of the civilian population of military age, a significant predominance of women is inevitable, since in connection with the conscription of the vast majority of men of the corresponding ages into the army, the probability of death of women among civilians of these ages has increased. Such a phenomenon was observed in Germany, where, according to the results of the Allied bombing raids, "in all age groups, losses among women exceed those among men by approximately 40%"<sup>99</sup>. Therefore, it is not possible to use data on the female preponderance in the post-war years at military age to determine the losses of the armed forces, since the female preponderance has been significantly reduced due to the losses of the civilian population. The significant number of women who died in the armed forces also contributed to the reduction of the post-war female preponderance. In addition, many of the women who remained widowed or single could have died prematurely before the 1959 census, which should also have significantly reduced the female preponderance in military age.

It is practically impossible to establish in what proportion the victims among the civilian population were distributed between the occupied and non-occupied territory of the USSR. In the occupied territory of the USSR, about 1.5 million Soviet Jews were exterminated by the Nazis as part of the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question." Jews were destroyed both directly by executions carried out by the Einsatzgruppen SD (51sVegney\$Ch1ept\$, Security Service), and due to starvation and epidemics in ghettos and concentration camps. There, the food supply of the Jews was limited in such a way that the daily ration did not ensure the physical survival of even a non-working person. And the Jews were also forced to do hard physical labor. In addition, about 0.5 million more Jews from Western Europe were destroyed on the territory of the USSR, but they are not included in the demographic losses of the Soviet Union.

In the occupied Soviet territory, the population also died as a result of executions of hostages and in the course of punitive operations against partisans, as well as German repressions against those associated with partisans and with

Soviet intelligence sub-policemen. Civilians also died of starvation and disease. In addition, they died in the course of hostilities both between the Wehrmacht and the Red Army, and between partisans and punishers. The losses of the civilian Soviet population also include those who did not serve in the Red Army, but ended up in the ranks of partisans or collaborationist formations. There is no reliable data on the number of victims in each of these categories.

On the unoccupied Soviet territory, civilians also became victims of hostilities - shelling and bombing. TO

109 Results of the Second World War. S. 229.

This category should include the victims of the siege of Leningrad, although most of them died of starvation and disease. According to the estimates of the Leningrad city commission, 16,747 Leningraders died from shelling and bombing, and another 632,253 people became victims of hunger and disease!'. This number did not include those residents who were evacuated from Leningrad, but died before the end of the war from the consequences of starvation experienced during the blockade. Among them was the Leningrad girl Tanya Savicheva, whose diary shocked the world. She died in 1944. There are also higher estimates that increase the number of victims of the Leningrad blockade to 1 million people.

The victims of starvation were also great, especially among the evacuees. For example, in Arkhangelsk alone, during the first war winter, 20,000 people perished from starvation and disease - every tenth inhabitant! And at the very end of the war, mass famine raged in the unoccupied territory, provoking even cannibalism, and not only in besieged Leningrad. Here are the facts, for example, cited by D.A. Volkogonov: "The People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Tajik SSR Kharchenko reported:

"In the Leninabad region ... 20 people were identified who died of exhaustion, and 500 people were swollen from malnutrition. In the Stalinabad region - Ramit, Pakhtaabad, Obi-Garm and other districts - more than 70 people died of exhaustion. There are also emaciated and swollen. Such facts take place in the Kurgan-Tube, Kulyab, Garm regions. The assistance provided to these areas on the spot is insignificant ... "

In the Chita region there are facts of "the use of dead animals, trees, bark." A terrible fact was reported when a peasant woman with her sons killed their little daughter and used her for food ... Here is another similar case ... "!!?.

It should be noted that in the occupied territory, facts of cannibalism and corpse-eating were found only in prisoner-of-war camps, as well as in blockaded partisan detachments, in particular in the Crimea and in the Odessa catacombs. This suggests that in terms of food, the situation of the population of the occupied territories was more favorable than the situation of the inhabitants of the non-occupied territories. This was affected, in particular, by the fact that the population of the territories occupied by the Germans and their allies decreased both due to evacuation to Soviet territory and due to the deportation of the population for forced labor in the Reich. The German administration only minimally used the industrial potential of the occupied cities and encouraged the departure of the townspeople to the countryside,

where they had a chance to feed themselves through subsistence farming. In addition, the Germans did not control much of the countryside.

110 Information from the City Commission for the Establishment and Investigation of the Atrocities of the Fatist German Invaders and Their Accomplices on the Number of the Population of the TsGA St. Petersburg Who Died in Leningrad, f.8357, op.6, file 1108, l. 46-47.

111 Vislykh A.P. Saving Lend-Lease // Independent Military Review, 2001, October 12-18. No. 38 (260). S. 5.

112 Volkogonov D.A. Stalin. Political portrait. In 2 books. Book. 2. M.: Novosti, 4th ed., 1997. S. 423-424.

territory, and the peasants and the townspeople who fled there usually had enough food left to feed themselves. Sometimes the greatest threat to the peasants was not the German occupiers, but all sorts of partisans.

On the contrary, in the territory that remained under Soviet control, the population of the cities was actively used for the needs of the front, was under the strict control of the NKVD and did not have the opportunity to leave for the countryside. In addition, the entire countryside remained under the effective control of the NKVD, and everywhere surplus food was confiscated from the collective farms and state farms, as well as the few remaining individual farmers, which often brought the peasants to the brink of starvation.

#### Assessment of the irretrievable losses of the German armed forces in World War II

The irretrievable losses of the Wehrmacht up to November 1944 were taken into account quite fully according to the data of personal (personal) registration by the military registration institutions of Germany. In the period from September 1, 1939 to December 31, 1944, the ground forces lost 1 million 750.3 thousand people killed on the battlefield, as well as those who died from wounds, illnesses, accidents and other reasons, and 1 million missing 609.7 thousand people. The fleet during the same period lost 60 thousand people dead and 100.3 thousand people missing, and the air force - 155 thousand dead and 148.5 thousand missing. Losses for the period from January 1 to April 30, 1945 by the central accounting authorities were estimated for the ground forces at 250 thousand dead and 1 million missing and for the Navy - at 5 thousand dead and 5 thousand missing and for the Air Force - at 10,000 dead and 7,000 missing<sup>3</sup>. According to the nature of the calculations, all those missing in the ground forces in the period from January 1 to April 30, 1945 can be attributed to the number of prisoners. Also, most of the missing during this period in the Navy and Air Force can be considered prisoners. The situation is more complicated with those who went missing before the end of 1944. The number of dead among them can be estimated by subtracting from the total number of missing in the ground forces during this period the approximate number of prisoners captured by Germany's enemies. It is known that in North Africa in 1942-1943, only the German ground forces lost about 90 thousand people as prisoners. More than 210 thousand people were taken prisoner on the Western Front from June to December 1944, in Italy in 1943-1944 - about

20 thousand people". The number of missing people in the East until January 1945 amounted to 1 million people, while the number of prisoners can be estimated at 544 thousand people. This figure is obtained by subtracting from the total number of prisoners captured by the Red Army until the end of 1944 (997 thousand people), 202 thousand Romanians, 49 thousand Italians and 2 thousand Finns (all of them could only be captured before the end of 1944), as well as 200 thousand of

113 Müller-Hillebrand B. Ground Army of Germany. M. T. 3. S. 338.

114 Eisenhower D. Crusade to Europe. Per. from English. M., 1980. S. 352-379; Müller-Hillebrand B. Decree. op. T. 3. S. 343; Liddell Hart B. World War II. Per. from English. M., 1976. S. 505.

514 thousand Hungarian soldiers taken prisoner!!<sup>9</sup>. In this case

about 456 thousand missing in the East before the end of 1944 should be attributed to the dead. In other theaters of the war, out of 610,000 ground forces soldiers who went missing by the end of 1944, about 290,000 could be classified as killed. This gives the number of dead in the ground forces from the beginning of the war to the end of 1944 at 2,496,000. In the Navy, of the missing, we conditionally attribute nine-tenths to the dead sailors who sank along with their ships. In this case, the total number of deaths in the fleet up to the end of 1944 can be estimated at 150 thousand people. In the Air Force, we conditionally accept that half of the missing can be attributed to the dead, and the other half to prisoners, then the total number of deaths in German aviation by the end of 1944 can be estimated at 229 thousand people. In the period from January 1 to April 30, 1945, we conventionally classify all those missing in the Air Force and Navy as prisoners. We estimate the losses killed in May 1945 at 10 thousand people, mainly from the ground forces. Then the total number of deaths in the ground forces should be estimated at 2756 thousand, in the Navy - at 155 thousand and in the Air Force - at 239 thousand people, and for the Wehrmacht as a whole (together with the SS troops) - at 3.15 million people. Losses by prisoners until the end of April 1945 are estimated at 1854 thousand for the ground forces, 15 thousand for the Navy and 81 thousand for the Air Force.

In the period from January 1 to April 30, 1945, out of 1 million prisoners from the ground forces, 615 thousand were taken on the Western Front (290 thousand in January - March and 325 thousand in April in the Ruhr pocket) "5, number prisoners in Italy can be estimated at 10 thousand, the remaining 375 thousand prisoners were taken on the Eastern Front. We also attribute half of the prisoners from the fleet and one third of the prisoners from the Air Force to the share of the Eastern Front in this period - about 5 thousand people in total .

In Soviet camps for captured German soldiers and their allies, the mortality rate during the war years was also extremely high, primarily due to the lack of food, which was sorely lacking both for the Red Army and for the civilian population. And this despite the fact that the prisoners in the USSR until 1945 were an order of magnitude smaller than in Germany. The rations for prisoners of war that existed in the Soviet Union in 1942-1943 did not provide an energy minimum even for non-working prisoners. From the beginning of the war until May 1, 1943, out of 292,630 registered prisoners in the USSR, 196,944 people died, or 67.3%, which was even higher than the death rate of Soviet prisoners in German camps. A

it is correct to compare precisely these indicators, since the repatriation of prisoners for Germany was impossible. In addition, there were already millions of French and Polish prisoners in Germany. Only by the end of 1944 did the nutritional standards of prisoners of war in the USSR reach physiological

115 Galitsky V.P. Enemy prisoners of war in the USSR (1941-1945) // Military History Journal. 1990. No. 9. S. 39-46; The seal of secrecy has been removed. P. 391. Number

captured Hungarian soldiers, according to various estimates, ranged from about 425 thousand to about 600 thousand people (Komnin A. Half a million Hungarians and half a century of silence // NG Ex 1115, July 7, 2005).

116 Erman J. Grand strategy: October 1944 - August 1945. Per. from English. M., 1958. S. 119, 121.

minimum, but it was often not reached due to theft and lack of food. Norms fell sharply again in 1946 in connection with the famine that befell the country!'. It is known, for example, that out of approximately 110 thousand Germans taken prisoner near Stalingrad, only 5 thousand people returned home from captivity, or 2.6% of all prisoners!!

After the end of the war, the death rate of prisoners in the USSR fell due to the fact that weak and sick prisoners were repatriated in the first place. In total, 2,733,739 former soldiers of the German army were in Soviet captivity. Among them - 2388.4 thousand Germans, 156.7 thousand Austrians, 70.0 thousand Czechs and Slovaks, 23.1 thousand French, 21.8 thousand immigrants from Yugoslavia, 60.3 thousand Poles, 4.7 thousand Dutch, 2.0 thousand people from Belgium, 1.7 thousand people from Luxembourg, as well as 452 Spaniards, 456 Danes, 101 Norwegians and about 4.0 thousand representatives of other nationalities. Of these, 381,067 people died, or 13.9% of the prisoners. Among the Germans, the number of deaths was 356.7 thousand, and among the Austrians - 10.9 thousand people!?. In addition, more than 220 thousand soldiers of the German army from among the former Soviet citizens were captured. We are talking about those who served as auxiliary personnel "Hee-Vi" ("volunteer assistants") in the German units!?. This number obviously also includes up to 40,000 ROA fighters and up to 50,000 members of Cossack formations. In addition, several hundred thousand German prisoners were released from captivity in Germany shortly after being captured without being registered as prisoners. Their number can be approximately estimated by subtracting from G.F. Krivosheev figures in 3576.3 thousand captured German soldiers!?! 220 thousand hi-vi and other Soviet citizens, as well as 2733.7 thousand prisoners of war who ended up in camps. It turns out 622.6 thousand people. In total, about 11.6 million soldiers of the German army were captured, including about 8 million in the West!?. Taking into account the data on the number of those killed in Soviet captivity, the number of prisoners of war who died in captivity in the West can be approximately estimated at 350 thousand people. In total, according to our estimates, about 3950 thousand Wehrmacht servicemen died in the war, including Austrians, Czechs, Poles, Latvians, Estonians and others

117 See: S. G. Sidorov, Organization of meals for prisoners of war in the USSR in 1941-1955. // Bulletin of the Volgograd State University. Ser. 4: History. Philosophy. Issue. 1. 1996. S. 71-82; Sidorov S. G. Food supply for prisoners of war in the USSR in 1941-1955. // Battle of Stalingrad in the history of Russia. SPb.: Publishing house

St. Petersburg State University, 1997. S. 85-105.

118 Overmans R. Another Face of War: Life and Death of the 6th Army // Stalingrad: Event. Impact. Symbol / Ed. Jurgen Forster. Per. with him. M.: Progress-Academy, 1994. S. 469, tab. 3.

119 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198. 120 Ibid. S. 511. 121 Ibid. S. 515, tab. 201.

122 Erlikhman V.V. Population loss in the 20th century. Directory. M.: Russian panorama, 2004. S. 134-135.

citizens of the USSR and other countries who served in the German armed forces. This estimate practically coincides with the estimate of B. Müller-Gillebrand - 4 million dead!?

The total number of deaths in the German armed forces, including the Luftwaffe and the Navy, can be estimated at 4 million people, of which about 0.8 million, according to the German tracing service, are those who died in captivity. Of this number, according to our estimates, about 2.6 million German servicemen died in the East, of which about 100 thousand were in the Luftwaffe and the fleet! ". If the data on the death of 381.1 thousand Wehrmacht soldiers in Soviet captivity is correct, the total number of German soldiers who died in captivity with the Western Allies can be estimated at 0.42 million people. According to R. Overmans, based on the card index of the German Tracing Service, 22 thousand people died in American captivity, 34 thousand people in French, 21 thousand people in British, 11 thousand people in Yugoslav and 363 in Soviet captivity 343 people. In addition, another 8.1 thousand prisoners died in captivity, but it is not known in which one! ". The total number of those who died in captivity would then be 459.5 thousand, which is significantly less than the estimate of the Tracing Service, referring to the beginning of the 50s. However, these data refer only to those military personnel whose death is reliably established, and therefore may significantly underestimate the number of those who died in captivity, especially in the West. Overmans estimates the total number of German prisoners in the USA at 3.1 million people, in England - at 3.64 million people, in France - at 940 thousand people, in the USSR - at 3060 thousand people, in Yugoslavia - 190 thousand people and in other countries, 170,000 people\*5.

The German military historian R. Overmans estimates the losses of the German armed forces in World War II at 5.318 million dead, including those who died in captivity. This figure seems exaggerated to us. It is obtained in the following way. From the file of those servicemen of the German armed forces who were considered to be survivors of the war, Overmans took a representative sample of 7619 cards. According to him, there were about 15.2 million cards in the card file of the living. Overmans found that of the 7,619 people he studied, 1,100 people (14.4%) may have died during the war or in captivity, since there was no evidence that they were alive. These people were declared dead by the court or by decision of the authorities. Extending this proportion to the entire population, Overmans concluded that approximately 2.2 million of those military personnel who were listed as survivors

123 Müller-Hillebrand B. Decree. op. T. 3. S. 340.

124 Estimated by: Müller-Hillebrand B. Decree. op. T. 3. S. 323-344. For details see: 5oKoJou V.M Tre Soz\* oYo Mage: Nishtap T.055e\$ south Te 558 apa Segtapu, 1939-1945 // Jochgpa| oÿ Zla\1c MPKagu Zaez, Mags 1996; Sokolov B. Secrets of the Second World War. M.: Veche, 2001, p. 247-250.

125 Ouermapî\$ V. Reschzsve shitsa Pissie Vegas{e pp 7mecep Meknes. 5. 336, Tab. 7Ze.

126 010., \$. 286, Taf. 65.

war, in fact, should be included in the category of those who died during the war, including post-war captivity in this concept. To these 1100 cards, Overmans added 3051 cards from the card index, so to speak, "reliably dead", i.e. those military personnel whose death was confirmed either by combat reports or eyewitness accounts. Characteristically, Overmans does not indicate that among the 10,670 cards he studied, he came across women.

According to Overmans, there are about 3.1 million cards in this card index and, with rare exceptions, there is no double counting. Based on this sample, he determined the structure of the dead by years of conscription, years of death, theaters of operations, years of birth and regions of conscription, as well as by types of armed forces. The probable re-count among the living (perhaps approximately equal to the re-conscription at the end of the war of the previously demobilized) Overmans did not exclude from the card index and operated with a total estimate of 18.2 million people mobilized. At the same time, he made a breakdown by year of birth, as well as by regions of conscription, only for military personnel of the ground forces, the Luftwaffe and the navy, excluding the SS troops, among which there were many foreigners. Overmans estimated the number of SS troops at 900 thousand people. Note that a double count could also be among the "reliably dead" 3.1 million people, but Overmans considers it negligible in this last category. In fact, Overmans did not trace the fate of each of the 1100 "conditionally killed" he studied, i.e. could not find out the time, place and circumstances of their death. The study of this issue obviously requires time that goes beyond the lifetime of one researcher, and in a number of cases the task turns out to be fundamentally impossible. Therefore, Overmans, obviously, established only the absence in the card indexes available to him of facts indicating that this person was alive after the war, but this circumstance, in our opinion, is not enough to unconditionally classify such people as dead.

In fact, 5.318 million people is not actually the number of dead German soldiers and officers, but only the maximum possible value of this number. Overmans' calculations are based on data from a centralized filing cabinet for recording dead German servicemen of the FRG. There are 3.1 million people here (more precisely, by the end of 1994 - 3,078,735 people) '77 - these are people who undoubtedly died at the front or died in captivity. There are reports or eyewitness reports about them. 2.2 million is the number of military personnel whose fate, at the time of the request in the 1950s, could not be reliably established that they were alive. They were recognized mainly in

in the mid-50s, who died at the request of their relatives, who claimed that they had no information about them since the war years. However, some of these servicemen, especially among the wounded and disabled, could well have died after the war from natural causes, while the other could not be found due to a change of residence, especially if

127 Owentapp\$ V . Bemschzsve sPtsaPizsve Uya\$e pa 7Umeyep MeYokkched. 3 Ay. MoPvsVen: V. O]4enchocha Uead, 2004. \$. 195, {ab. 14.

128 Owentapp\$ In . Betschzsye shpna [Pizsve Uya\$e pa 7Umeyep MeYokkched. 3 Ay. MoPvsVen: V. O14echga Ueyad, 2004. 5. 192-200.

lived in the GDR or Austria, as well as due to emigration to other countries. It should also be taken into account that the first to be released from Soviet captivity were the disabled and those suffering from dystrophy, who had a high chance of dying in the first months or years after returning to their homeland, even before they established contact with their relatives. Indeed, in conditions when, as a result of the war, more than half of the population of Germany and Austria were forced to change their place of residence, and these countries themselves were divided into zones of occupation, and Germany did not even have its own government until the end of 1949, the search for relatives and friends was a process difficult and lengthy.

It should be noted that in 1963 the number of reliably killed military personnel was 2,960,923 people. By the end of 1994, this number had increased to 3,078,735. Taking into account the fact that in 1963-1994 904 people were excluded from the number of dead, as those who died after the war, survived or were entered erroneously, due to incorrect spelling of surnames, the total increase in the number of dead was equal to 118,716 people, or in an average of 3,710 people a year!?

Of the approximately 2.2 million people whom Overmans considers conditionally dead, the death of 1,095,787 people was recognized by the court at the request of relatives who had no contact with them after the end of the war. Another 1,154,744 people are listed as missing and registered as dead by the authorities, since there is no information about them for a long time that they are alive! °. Thus, decisions to declare them dead were taken on the initiative of interested persons - relatives who sought to receive an inheritance, divorce, etc., or officials who sought to exclude them from the unified social insurance system. All these decisions could only be made after 1956, when the process of returning German prisoners was completed. It can be assumed that for those who were declared dead by the court, more likely to actually be killed during the war than for those who were declared as such by decision of the authorities.

Of the 5318 thousand dead and missing, 4737 thousand fall on the territory of the Reich, including Austria, the Sudetenland and the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. 601 thousand dead and missing belong to foreigners who served in the Wehrmacht, as well as to conscripts and volunteers from the territories of Polypi, France (Alsace and Lorraine), Luxembourg, Denmark and Belgium annexed during the war. In addition, the number of 5318 thousand includes a significant number of Volkssturm fighters (78 thousand), as well as persons not differentiated by type of armed forces (154 thousand, including



63.5 thousand policemen, some of whom did not participate in hostilities)!'. The number of dead and missing among persons aged 1873-1889 is 36,332 people, then

- 129 no. 5. 194, Ta'. 14.

130 1. \$. 336, Tab. 73+.

131 1514. 5.260 Ta\$. 49, 5. 335, Tai. 73b-734.

how 142,482 people of these years of birth were called!3?. It turns out,

that a quarter of all those called up at these ages died, which is not much more than the figure for all the dead - 29.1%, if we relate the number of 5318 thousand to the entire call of 18.3 million people, excluding those recalled to the national economy, according to Overmans. Such a high percentage of dead and dead for the elderly seems incredible, given that they only rarely participated in combat, even taking into account the increased mortality of this contingent from disease. If we take the total number of mobilized people born in 1900 and older - 1472 thousand people, then the number of dead and missing is 288,310 people, which is 19.6%. This figure also appears to be extremely high.

If the figure of 5.3 million dead is correct, then according to Overmans' calculations, it turns out that almost as many German servicemen died in the last 10 months of the war as in the previous four and a half years, primarily due to the mass beating of prisoners in the last months of the war and soon after the surrender, mainly on the Eastern Front. In total, in 1944 and 1945, according to Overmans, 1.8 and 1.54 million people died, including those who died in captivity!33. At the same time, he attributed 135 thousand dead to 1946 and later. Only in the last three months of the war, according to Overmans, about a million German soldiers died, taking into account those who died in captivity. However, it is known that in the last year of the war, the main losses of the Wehrmacht were captured, and not killed or wounded, and the size of the German army was steadily declining, so that there was simply no room for millions of dead. And the number of those who died in captivity, especially in the West, where the vast majority of prisoners were released during the first two post-war years, could not be so great.

Overmans determines the losses of the SS troops at 314 thousand people, and the total number of those mobilized into these troops at 900 thousand. This gives the highest percentage of deaths among all branches of the armed forces - 34.9% compared to 31% of the deaths of the total number of conscripts for the ground forces \*. However, this assessment seems to us to be exaggerated. The point is that at the beginning of 1945 there were 830,000 men in the SS troops. In order for the total number of those who served in them not to exceed 900 thousand people, it is necessary to admit, even in the absence of replenishment of the SS troops in 1945, that the losses of the SS troops until 1945 amounted to no more than 70 thousand killed and dead, as well as survivors, but declared unfit for further service and that in 1945, along with those who died in captivity, the SS troops were to lose

244 thousand people died, which seems completely

132 544. 5. 332, Tab. 72; 5. 334, Tab. 73. 133 G. 5. 242, Tab. 40.

13d Gra. \$. 255, Tab. 46; 5. 257, Tab. 47.

135 Müller-Hillebrand B. Land Army of Germany 1933-1945. Per. with him. M.: EKSMO; Izographus, 2003. S. 701. Tab. B.

incredible. But we must also take into account that some of the volunteers from European countries, in particular from Scandinavia, left the SS troops before the end of the war. As an example, we point out that out of 592 Norwegian SS men who were in the SS division "Nordland" in the fall of 1944 (before the battle for Berlin, at least 259 of them remained in the ranks), about 500 returned to Norway from Soviet and American captivity (most of the survivors Norwegian volunteers were able to break through from Berlin to the American positions on the Elbe) and only about 100 people died in battle or in Soviet captivity<sup>5</sup>. In total, out of 101 Norwegian prisoners in the USSR, only 18 people died<sup>37</sup>. In total, out of 5,000 Norwegians who served in the SS troops, 934 people were killed and never found missing!<sup>38</sup>.

It can be assumed that Overmans underestimated the number of those drafted into the SS troops and overestimated the number of deaths at the expense of foreigners, many of whom actually survived. Meanwhile, it is known that a significant part of the foreigners listed as irretrievable losses did not actually die and did not even end up in prisoner of war camps. So, most of the 14th SS division "Galicia" (up to 10 thousand people), being in the Brodsky cauldron in July 1944, went over to the side of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). In the same way, the main part of the 19th Latvian SS division, which ended up in Courland at the end of the war, did not capitulate, but went home, to a large extent later forming the backbone of the "forest brothers". Of the approximately 14 thousand military personnel, only 14,771 capitulated. Therefore, it can be assumed that a significant part of the foreigners shown among the 2.2 million people, about whom there was no reliable data that they were alive, did not actually die during the war or in post-war captivity.

It is quite possible that in reality the losses among the SS troops are no higher than in the ground forces of the Wehrmacht. More intensive combat use and, accordingly, a higher level of losses of the German divisions of the SS troops could be completely compensated by the relatively low combat activity of the SS divisions formed from non-German peoples. It also plays a role that the methodology used by Overmans overestimates the number of deaths in the SS troops at the expense of foreigners. They or their relatives hardly ever applied to the German tracing service, and accordingly no one could mark on their cards that they were still alive after the war.

True, the proportion of "reliably dead" among the SS troops is the highest - 66.1%, while the average for all German armed forces is 57.7%. However, it is possible that among

136 Communicated to the author by Mr. Harry Ellingsen, Director of the Museum in Buda (ZaTsep shizeit) (Nurlaan Province), for which I offer him my sincere thanks.

137 Erlikhman V. Decree. op. S. 49.

138 Etepzroel M., Rfrez GJ. Mnogmedlap Wopishcheeg\$ w She Segtap U'eBttach w MMP //b p: //mgmgig.e]! Aodtal.cell/pogogau. W]

139 Ahonen S. Pages of Glory of the Latvian SS Legion // News agency pYuVo\$z, 2005, April 22

the remaining "conditionally dead" in the SS troops, the proportion of survivors was the highest at the expense of foreigners. It should be noted that the smallest proportion of "reliably dead" is among the fighters of the Volkssturm - 42.5% °. It is likely that most of the elderly Volkssturm, considered "probably dead", actually died a natural death shortly after the end of the war. Also, out of approximately 100,000 dead policemen and members of other organizations, a significant part can be civilians. - only 15.0%), as well as to the battles of the last five months of the war, when the proportion of "conditionally dead" reaches 56.7% ""?. It is due to this category that the irretrievable losses of the Wehrmacht become especially large in 1944-1945, with the fact that its numbers are falling sharply, and the main losses of the German troops are prisoners. Taking into account the fact that, according to Overmans, the losses on the Eastern Front are respectively 2743 thousand people and 1230 thousand people, excluding those who died in captivity, "the number is "conditionally dead" among them is 1136 thousand and 697 thousand people. In total, this gives 1833 thousand people, or 83% of all conditionally killed during the war. But just in these two categories of losses, on the Eastern Front and in the last five months of the war, the accounting is the least accurate, so that Overmans' estimates reflect not so much the actual losses of the Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front and in the last months of the war, but the real state of their accounting. No less important is the fact that just on the Eastern Front among the military there was an increased proportion of conscripts from East Germany, whose relatives later turned out to be among the "expelled and refugees in the western occupation zones of Germany and Austria and for a long time could not establish contact with those who turned out to be in captivity. Also, in the last 5 months of the war, the Red Army captured the bulk of German prisoners, whose fate in Germany was unknown for a long time. Taking into account the fact that as a result of the war more than half of the population of Germany changed their place of residence, those who returned from captivity, as well as those soldiers released from captivity back in Germany and Austria, the oldest, as well as the youngest military age, had very little chance of finding their relatives in the early postwar years. According to Overmans, a total of 43,833 conscripts born in 1928 and later were called up, of which 33.2 thousand people died or went missing, that is, more than three-quarters, while more than 18 thousand deaths accounted for Volkssturm ""'. It can be assumed that a significant part of the representatives of the youngest ages after being released from captivity

141 #14. \$. 255, Tai. 46.142  
59.5.210, Tau. 24. 143 Tr1a., \$.  
265, Tab. 52.

144 1514., 5. 332, Tab. 72; 5. 334, Taf. 73; 5. 244, Tai. 41.

emigrated or started a new family without establishing ties with relatives. Some representatives of older ages, demobilized during the war, could die before the end of the war or in the first post-war years.

It must be borne in mind that, despite the ban, there was illegal emigration from Germany in the first post-war years. Thus, in 1941-1950, 14,400 people of "German origin" entered Canada. Obviously, almost all of them moved in after 1945, and a significant part of them were former military personnel. Surely there was also emigration to the United States and Latin America, as well as to the Scandinavian countries and the Iberian Peninsula. In total, the number of emigrants among former military personnel could exceed 100 thousand people.

Some of the 2.2 million unidentified military personnel, especially from among the wounded and disabled, could well die after the war from natural causes, while others, especially from among those living in the GDR or Austria, could not be found due to a change of residence or emigration to other countries. It should be borne in mind that the emaciated and disabled were released from Soviet captivity in the first place, who could die in the first year or two after liberation, without having established contact with relatives. It is no coincidence that the current German law on military graves states that they are understood as "the graves of those who from 08/26/1939 to 03/31/1952 died, died from an accident or from wounds and diseases in military and paramilitary formations, as well as graves those who died in captivity or due to the consequences of captivity before 03/31/1952 or in the year that has passed since returning from captivity" 5. Probably, the number of 2.2 million" conditionally dead "also includes those who died from the consequences of captivity before March 31, 1952, or within a year after returning from captivity. Also, some members of paramilitary organizations, such as the Todt organization, which are not related to the Wehrmacht, may also be part of both safe and conditionally dead. In addition, some of the alleged deaths could arise due to incorrect spelling of their names in the documents.

It can be assumed that the survivors could be up to half of the 2.2 million unidentified German troops. In this case, one can consider the estimate of General B. Müller-Gillebrand of the number of victims of the German armed forces at 4 million as the closest to reality.

Human.

Civilian casualties and total German population losses in World War  
II

A great difficulty is the determination of the losses of the civilian German population. For example, the number of deaths as a result of the bombing of Dresden by Allied aircraft in February 1945

145 Calculated by M.Ya. Berzina on the basis of the yearbook "SapaCha Veag BOOK" for different years: Berzina M.Ya. Formation of the ethnic composition of the population of Canada (Ethnostatistical study). M.: Nauka, 1971. S. 70, tab. 5.

146 Op. Quoted from: Bayerbach A . Decree. op.

ranges from 25 thousand to 250 thousand people“, since in the city

there was a significant but unidentified number of refugees from West Germany, the number of which was impossible to count. According to official figures, 410 thousand civilians and another 23 thousand police and civilian employees of the armed forces became victims of air raids within the borders of the Reich in 1937. In addition, 160 thousand foreigners, prisoners of war and displaced persons from the occupied territories died from the bombings. Within the borders of 1942 (but without the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia), the number of victims of air raids increases to 635 thousand people, and taking into account the victims of civilian Wehrmacht employees and policemen, up to 658 thousand people "" 8. Losses of the German civilian population from ground combat actions are estimated at 400 thousand people, the losses of the civilian population of Austria - at 17 thousand people (the latter estimate seems to be underestimated by 2-3 times). 450 thousand people became victims of Nazi terror in Germany, including up to 160 thousand Jews, and in Austria - 100 thousand people, including 60 thousand Jews"? It is more difficult to determine how many Germans became victims of hostilities in Germany, as well as how many Germans who were deported from the Sudetenland, Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, and also from the Balkan countries in 1945-1946 died. In total, more than 9 million Germans were evicted, including 250 thousand from Romania and Hungary and 300 thousand from Yugoslavia. In addition, up to 20 thousand war criminals and Nazi functionaries were executed in the zones of occupation of Germany and Austria, mainly in the Soviet one, after the war, and another 70 thousand internees died in the camps. "There are other estimates of the victims of the German civilian population (without Austria and other annexed territories): about 2 million people, including 600-700 thousand women aged 20 to 55 years, 300 thousand victims of Nazi terror, including 170 thousand Jews!". the estimated number of deaths among the exiled Germans is 473,000 people - this is the number of people whose deaths are confirmed by eyewitnesses!?. The exact number of victims of land hostilities in Germany, as well as the possible number of deaths from starvation and disease (excess deaths during the war) it is not possible to determine.

It is also impossible to estimate today the total irretrievable losses of Germany, as well as the losses of the civilian population. Appearing at times

147 Results of the Second World War. Moscow: Izdatinlit, 1957, p. 228.

148 Becker K. War diaries of the Luftwaffe. Moscow: Tsentrpoligraf, 2004. P. 538. 149 Erlikhman V . Population loss. pp. 36-27, 42-43.

150 Erlikhman V. Population loss. pp. 42-43.

151 Results of the Second World War. S. 598.

152 Overmans R. Human casualties of World War II in Germany // World War II. Discussions. Main trends. Research results. Per. with him. Moscow: Progress-Academy; The whole world, 1996. S. 692.

estimates of 2-2.5 million civilians who died during the Second World War are arbitrary, not supported by any reliable statistics or demographic balances.' The latter are practically impossible to build due to significant changes in borders and population migrations after the war.

If we assume that the number of victims of hostilities in Germany among the civilian population was approximately equal to the number of victims of aerial bombing, i.e., about 0.66 million people, then the total loss of the civilian population of Germany within the borders of 1940 can be estimated at about 2.4 million people, excluding victims of excess natural mortality. Together with the armed forces, this will give a total loss of 6.3 million people, if we take the estimate of the losses of the armed forces made by B. Müller-Gillebrand. Overmans determines the number of dead German soldiers called up from the territory of Austria at 261 thousand people!“. Since we consider his assessment of the irretrievable losses of the Wehrmacht to be overestimated by about 1.325 times, then in the same proportion it is necessary to reduce his assessment of the losses of the Austrians in the Wehrmacht - to 197 thousand people. The number of victims of aerial bombardment of Austria was small, since this country had never been the main object of Allied air operations. The population of Austria was no more than one-twelfth the population of the Reich in the 1942 borders, and given the lower intensity of the bombing of Austrian territory, the losses of the Austrians from the bombings can be estimated at about one-twentieth of the total number of victims, i.e. 33 thousand people. We estimate the number of victims of hostilities on the territory of Austria at no less than 50 thousand people. Thus, the total losses of Austria can be estimated, together with the victims of Nazi terror, at 380 thousand people.

It must be emphasized that the figure of total German losses of 6.3 million people cannot be compared with the total losses of the USSR of 40.1-40.9 million people, since the figure of German losses was obtained without taking into account the excess non-violent death of the civilian population. Only the losses of the armed forces can be compared. Their ratio is 6.73:1 in favor of Germany.

The ratio of irretrievable losses of the Soviet Union and Germany in World War II

The true size of Soviet Armed Forces casualties, including those who died in captivity, according to our estimate, may be 26.9 million people. This is approximately 10.3 times higher than the losses of the Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front (2.6 million dead). The Hungarian army, which fought on Hitler's side, lost about 160,000 killed and dead, including about 55,000 who died in captivity<sup>o</sup>. Loss of another ally

153 See: R. Overmans, Human casualties of World War II in Germany. S. 682, tab. 1 There are also lower estimates - 1.5 million, and higher ones - up to 3 million.

154 Ouerman\$ B. Responsibility schlitsa [ex. Vera\$(e pp mezzep MeikKchesd. 5. 228, Tab. 32.

155 Urlanis B.Ts. Wars and the population of Europe. M.: Sotsekgiz, 1960. S. 222; Losses of Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 514, tab. 200.

Germany, Finland, amounted to about 61 thousand killed and dead, including 403 people who died in Soviet captivity and about 1 thousand people died in battles against the Wehrmacht! °. The Romanian army lost about 165 thousand killed and dead in the battles against the Red Army, including 71,585 killed, 309,533 missing, 243,622 wounded and 54,612 dead in captivity. 217,385 Romanians and Moldavians returned from captivity. Thus, from among the missing, 37,536 people must be attributed to the dead. If we assume that approximately 10% of the wounded died, then the total losses of the Romanian army in battles with the Red Army will be about 188.1 thousand dead. In the battles against Germany and its allies, the Romanian army lost 21,735 killed, 58,443 missing and 90,344 wounded. Assuming that the mortality among the wounded was 10%, the number of deaths from wounds can be estimated at 9 thousand people. 36,621 Romanian soldiers and officers returned from German and Hungarian captivity. Thus, the total number of killed and died in captivity from among the missing Romanian military personnel can be estimated at 21,824 people. Thus, in the struggle against Germany and Hungary, the Romanian army lost about 52,600 dead.'7 The Italian army lost about 72 thousand people in battles against the Red Army, of which about 28 thousand died in Soviet captivity - more than half of the approximately 49 thousand prisoners. "Finally, the Slovak army lost in battles against the Red Army and Soviet partisans 1, 9 thousand dead, of which about 300 people died in captivity! On the side of the USSR, the army of Bulgaria fought against Germany, losing about 10 thousand dead '°. Two armies of the Polish Army, formed in the USSR, lost 27.5 thousand dead and missing missing'5', and the Czechoslovak corps, which also fought on the side of the Red Army, - 4 thousand dead!?. The total losses of the dead on the Soviet side can be estimated at 27.1 million military personnel, and on the German side - at 2.9 million people, which gives a ratio of 9.1-9.3: 1. In the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939-1940, the ratio of losses killed and dead was 7.0: 1, not in favor of the Red

156 Estimate by: Kozlov A.I. Soviet-Finnish war 1939-1940. View from the "other" side. Riga: Tornado, 1997, pp. 39, 43; Losses of Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 514, tab. 200.

157 Erlikhman V. Population loss. S. 51; Losses of Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 514, tab. 200; Agtaya Kotapa sha! Chojea ga7b01 pop a1. VisBagez: Mepape, 1995. P 196-200.

158 Losses of Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 514, tab. 200. 159 Ibid.

160 Erlikhman V. Population loss. S. 39; Losses of Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 450, tab. 173.

161 The contribution of Poland and the Poles to the Allied victory in World War II. S. 34.

162 Losses of Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 450, tab. 173.

Army (we estimate Soviet casualties at 164,300, and Finnish losses at 23,500) '53. It can be assumed that this ratio was about the same in 1941-1944. Then, in battles with the Finnish troops, the Red Army could lose up to 417 thousand killed and died from wounds. It should also be taken into account that the irretrievable losses of the Red Army in the war with Japan amounted to 12 thousand people! If we accept that in battles with the rest of the German allies, the losses of the Red Army were approximately equal to the losses of the enemy, then in these battles it could lose up to 284 thousand people. And in the battles against the Wehrmacht, the losses of the Red Army in the dead should have been about 22.2 million killed and died of wounds against about 2.1 million killed and died on the German side. This gives a loss ratio of 10.6:1.

According to Russian search engines, for one found corpse of a Wehrmacht soldier, on average, there are ten corpses of Red Army soldiers! 5 °. This ratio is almost equal to our estimate of the ratio of the losses of the Red Army and the Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front.

It is interesting to trace at least an approximate ratio of the losses of the parties over the years of the war. Using the ratio established above between the number of dead and injured in the battles of Soviet military personnel and based on the data given in the book of E.I. Smirnov, the number of dead Soviet soldiers by years can be distributed as follows: 1941 - 2.2 million, 1942 - 8 million, 1943 - 6.4 million, 1944 - 6.4 million, 1945 - 2.5 million. It should also be taken into account that approximately 0.9 million Red Army soldiers who were listed as irretrievable losses, but later found themselves in the liberated territory and called up again, mainly fall on 1941-1942. Due to this, the loss of the dead in 1941, we reduce by 0.6 million, and in 1942 - by 0.3 million people (in proportion to the number of prisoners) and with the addition of prisoners we get the total irretrievable losses of the Red Army by years: 1941 - 5, 5 million, 1942 - 7.153 million, 1943 - 6.965 million, 1944 - 6.547 million, 1945 - 2.534 million. For comparison, let's take the irretrievable losses of the Wehrmacht ground forces over the years, based on the data of B. Müller-Gillebrand. At the same time, we subtracted from the final figures the losses suffered outside the Eastern Front, tentatively spreading them over the years. The result is the following picture for the Eastern Front (in parentheses is the figure of the total irretrievable losses of ground forces for the year): 1941 (since June) - 301 thousand (307 thousand), 1942 - 519 thousand (538 thousand), 1943 - 668 thousand (793 thousand), 1944 (for this year, losses in December are taken equal to January) - 1129 thousand (1629 thousand), 1945 (before May 1) - 550 thousand (1250 thousand) 155. The ratio in all cases is obtained in favor of the Wehrmacht: 1941 - 18.1: 1, 1942 - 13.7: 1, 1943 - 10.4: 1, 1944 - 5.8: 1, 1945 - 4.6:1. These ratios should

163 See: Sokolov B.V. Secrets of the Finnish War. M.; Veche, 2000. P. 340. 164 Losses of Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. P. 309. 165 Reported by S.D. Mityagin.



166 Evaluated by: Müller-Hillebrand B. Dec. op. T. 3. S. 338-344; Erman J. Decree. op. pp. 119, 121.

be close to the true ratio of the irretrievable losses of the ground forces of the USSR and Germany on the Soviet-German front, since the losses of the ground army amounted to the lion's share of all Soviet military losses, and much more than that of the Wehrmacht, and the German aviation and navy suffered the main irretrievable losses during the war outside the Eastern Front. As for the losses of the German allies in the East, the underestimation of which somewhat worsens the performance of the Red Army, it should be taken into account that in the fight against them the Red Army suffered relatively much fewer losses than in the fight against the Wehrmacht, that the German allies did not act actively in all periods war and suffered the greatest loss of prisoners as part of the general capitulations (Romania and Hungary). In addition, the losses of the Polish, Czechoslovak, Romanian and Bulgarian units operating together with the Red Army were not taken into account on the Soviet side. So, in general, the ratios we have identified should be fairly objective. They show that the improvement in the ratio of irretrievable losses for the Red Army occurs only from 1944, when the Allies landed in the West and lend-lease assistance already gave the maximum effect in terms of both direct deliveries of weapons and equipment, and the deployment of Soviet military production. The Wehrmacht was forced to abandon reserves to the West and could not, as in 1943, unleash active operations in the East. In addition, there were heavy losses of experienced soldiers and officers. Nevertheless, until the end of the war, the ratio of losses remained unfavorable for the Red Army due to its inherent vices (temporality, contempt for human life, inept use of weapons and equipment, lack of continuity of experience due to huge losses and inept use of marching replacements, etc.) .

A particularly unfavorable ratio of losses for the Red Army was in the period from December 1941 to April 1942, when the Red Army carried out its first large-scale counter-offensive. For example, the 323rd Rifle Division of the 10th Army of the Western Front alone lost 4,138 men in three days of fighting, from 17 to 19 December 1941, including 1,696 dead and missing.<sup>57</sup> This gives an average daily loss rate of 1346 people, including 565 irretrievable losses. The entire German Eastern Army, numbering more than 150 divisions, for the period from December 11 to December 31, 1941 inclusive, had an average daily loss rate only slightly higher. On the day the Germans lost 2658 people, including only 686 - irretrievably <sup>e8</sup>.

It's just amazing! One of our divisions lost as much as 150 German ones. Even if we assume that not all German formations were in combat every day during the last three weeks of December 1941, even if we assume that the losses of the 323rd Rifle Division in three-day battles were for some reason uniquely large, the difference is too striking and cannot be explained by statistical errors. Here we must talk about the errors of social, fundamental

167 The Hidden Truth of War: 1941. S. 222.

168 Calculation according to: Halder F. Military diary. T. 3. Book. 2. S. 120, 161.

the evils of the Soviet way of warfare.

By the way, according to the testimony of the former commander of the 10th Army, Marshal F.I. Golikov, and in the previous days the 323rd division suffered heavy losses, and, despite the fact that the Soviet troops were advancing, the losses were dominated by the missing, most of whom, most likely, were killed. So, in the battles of December 11, during its turn to the south towards the city of Epifan and the settlement of Lupishki, the 323rd division lost 78 people killed, 153 wounded and up to 200 missing! °. And on December 17-19, the 323rd division, together with other divisions of the 10th Army, successfully, by Soviet standards, attacked the German defensive line on the Upa River. And by the next frontier, the Plava River, the 323rd Division was not yet the most battered of the divisions of the 10th Army, which were fully equipped before the start of the Moscow counteroffensive. In the 323rd division, 7613 people remained, while in the neighboring 326th - only 6238 people! Like many other divisions that took part in the counter-offensive, the 323rd and 326th divisions were just formed and entered the 000 for the first time. The lack of experience and internal cohesion of the units led to heavy losses. Nevertheless, on the night of December 19-20, two divisions took Plavsk, breaking through the enemy line. At the same time, the Germans allegedly lost more than 200 people only killed! "In fact, given the fact that at that moment most of the German divisions were operating in the Moscow direction, and Plavsk was defending only one regiment, the losses of the latter could not exceed several dozen killed. The commander of the 323rd division, Colonel Ivan Alekseevich Gartsev, was considered a completely successful commander of the division and on November 17, 1942 he became a major general, in 1943 he commanded the 53rd rifle corps, successfully ended the war, having received the military order of Kutuzov 1st degree, and died peacefully in 1961.

Let us compare the above monthly data on the irretrievable losses of the Red Army for 1942 with the monthly data on the losses of the German land army, calculated from the diary of the Chief of the General Staff of the German Land Army, General F. Halder. It should be noted here that the Soviet data include not only losses in the ground forces, but also losses in aviation and the navy. In addition, the irretrievable losses on the Soviet side include not only those killed and missing, but also those who died from wounds. In the data given by Halder, only the losses in killed and missing are included, relating only to the ground forces, without the Luftwaffe and the fleet. This circumstance makes the loss ratio more favorable for the German side than it actually was. After all, taking into account the fact that in the Wehrmacht the ratio of the wounded and killed was closer to the classic - 3:1, in the Red Army - closer to the unconventional ratio - 1:1, and also taking into account that the death rate in German hospitals was much higher than in the Soviet ones, because in recent

169 Golikov F.I. In the Moscow battle. M.: Nauka, 1967. S. 70-71. 170 Ibid. pp. 94-95.

171 Ibid. S. 98.

there were far fewer seriously wounded, the category of those who died from wounds

accounted for a much larger share in the irretrievable losses of the Wehrmacht than the Red Army. Also, the share of aviation and navy losses was relatively higher for the Wehrmacht than for the Red Army, due to the extremely large losses of the Soviet ground forces. In addition, we do not take into account the losses of the Italian, Hungarian and Romanian armies allied with the Wehrmacht, which also makes the loss ratio more favorable for Germany. However, all these factors can overestimate this indicator by no more than 20-25% and are not able to distort the general trend.

According to F. Halder's diary entries, from December 31, 1941 to January 31, 1942, German losses on the Eastern Front amounted to 87,082, including 18,074 killed and 7,175 missing. The irretrievable losses of the Red Army (killed and missing) in January 1942 amounted to 628 thousand people, which gives a loss ratio of 24.9:1. Between January 31 and February 28, 1942, German losses in the East amounted to 8,7651 people, including 18,776 killed and 4,355 missing. Soviet losses in February reached 523 thousand people and turned out to be 22.6 times more than German irretrievable losses.

In the period from March 1 to March 31, 1942, German losses on the Eastern Front amounted to 102,194 people, including 12,808 killed and 5,217 missing. Soviet losses in March 1942 amounted to 625 thousand dead and missing. This gives us a record ratio of 34.7:1. In April, when the offensive began to fade, but the losses of prisoners of the Soviet troops were still quite small, German losses amounted to 60,005 people, including 12,690 killed and 2,573 missing. Soviet losses this month amounted to 435 thousand dead and missing. The ratio is 28.5:1.

In May 1942, the Red Army suffered heavy losses in prisoners as a result of its unsuccessful offensive near Kharkov and the successful German offensive on the Kerch Peninsula, its losses amounted to 433 thousand people. This figure is likely to be significantly underestimated. After all, the Germans alone captured almost 400 thousand prisoners in May, and compared to April, when there were almost no prisoners, the losses even decreased by 13 thousand people - while the index of those killed in battles fell by only three points. The losses of the German ground forces can only be calculated for the period from May 1 to June 10, 1942. They totaled 100,599, including 21,157 killed and 4,212 missing. To establish the ratio of irretrievable losses, a third of the losses in June must be added to the Soviet losses in May. Soviet losses for this month amounted to 519 thousand people. Most likely, they are overestimated due to the inclusion of underestimated May losses in the June parts. Therefore, the total figure of losses for May and the first ten days of June at 606 thousand dead and missing seems close to reality. The deadweight loss ratio is 23.9:1, not fundamentally different from the indicators of several previous months.

During the period from 10 to 30 June, the losses of the German ground forces in the East amounted to 64,013 people, including 11,079 killed and 2,270 missing. The ratio of deadweight losses for the second and third decades of June is 25.9:1.

In July 1942, the German land army in the East lost

96,341 people, including 17,782 killed and 3,290 missing.

Soviet losses in July 1942 amounted to only 330 thousand people, and, most likely, they are somewhat underestimated. But this underestimation is largely compensated by the more significant losses of the German allies who participated in the general offensive in the south that began at the end of June. The deadweight ratio turns out to be 15.7:1. This already means a significant improvement in this indicator for the Red Army. The German offensive turned out to be less catastrophic for the Red Army in terms of casualties than its own offensive in the winter and spring of 1942.

But the real turning point in the ratio of irretrievable losses occurred in August 1942, when German troops advanced on Stalingrad and the Caucasus, and Soviet troops in the Rzhev region. Soviet losses in prisoners were significant, and there certainly was an underestimation of Soviet irretrievable losses, but most likely it was no more than in July. In August 1942, the German army in the East lost 160,294 men, including 31,713 killed and 7,443 missing. Soviet losses this month amounted to 385 thousand dead and missing. The ratio is 9.8:1, i.e. much better for the Red Army than in the winter or spring of 1942! Even taking into account the likely underestimation of Soviet losses in August, the change in the ratio of losses looks significant. Moreover, the likely underestimation of Soviet losses was offset by a significant increase in the losses of the German allies - the Romanian, Hungarian and Italian troops, who actively participated in the summer-autumn offensive. The loss ratio is improving not so much due to the reduction in Soviet losses (although this, in all likelihood, took place), but due to a significant increase in German losses. It is no coincidence that it was in August 1942 that Hitler, according to V. Schellenberg, for the first time admitted the possibility that Germany would lose the war, and in September the loud resignations of the Chief of the General Staff of the Land Army F. Halder and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army Group A operating in the Caucasus, Field Marshal V. List. Hitler was beginning to realize that there was no way out of the stalemate into which the German offensive in the Caucasus and Stalingrad had been entering, and that the growing losses would soon enough lead the Wehrmacht to exhaustion, but to make

could do nothing.

Halder's diary allows us to calculate the losses of the ground forces only for the first ten days of September. They amounted to 48,198 people, including 9,558 killed and 3,637 missing." Soviet losses in September amounted to 473 thousand dead and missing. These losses not only do not seem to underestimate, but, on the contrary, rather underestimate the true size of Soviet losses in September by including earlier unrecorded losses, since in this month the index of those killed in battles fell from 130 to 109 compared to August. A third of 473 thousand .

172 Calculation according to: Halder F. Military diary. T. 3. Book. 2. pp. 161, 188, 207, 225, 240, 263, 284, 315, 337, 343 (entries dated January 5, February 4, March 5, April 6, May 5, June 14, July 5, August 5, 4 and 15 September 1942).

173 Ibid. pp. 337, 343 (entries dated September 4 and 15, 1942).

is 157.7 thousand. The ratio of Soviet and German

The deadweight loss in the first decade of September 1942 turns out to be 11.95:1, which proves that the August trend of improving the loss ratio continued into September, especially considering the overestimation of Soviet losses in that month.

In the further course of the war, the irretrievable losses of the German land army, with rare exceptions, only grew. The number of Soviet prisoners of war sharply decreased in 1943, while the German troops this year for the first time suffered significant losses of prisoners on the Eastern Front as a result of the Stalingrad disaster. Soviet losses in killed after 1942 also experienced an upward trend, but the absolute value of the increase in killed was significantly less than the amount by which the average monthly number of Soviet prisoners decreased. According to the dynamics of the rate of those killed in battles, the maximum losses in killed and dead from wounds were noted in July, August and September 1943, during the Battle of Kursk and the crossing of the Dnieper (the index of those killed in battles in these months is 143, 172 and 139, respectively). The next peak of the Red Army's losses in killed and dead from wounds falls on July, August and September 1944 (132, 140 and 130). The only peak of casualties in 1941-1942 falls on August 1942 (130)<sup>174</sup>. There were some months when the ratio of deadweight losses was almost as unfavorable for the Soviet side as in the first half of 1942, for example, during the Battle of Kursk, but in most months of 1943-1945 this ratio was already significantly better for the Red Army than in 1941-1942.

A significant, by Soviet standards, improvement in the ratio of irretrievable losses of the Red Army and the Wehrmacht and its allies, which began in August 1942 and continued until the end of the war, was due to several factors. Firstly, Soviet middle and senior commanders, starting with regimental commanders, gained some combat experience and began to fight a little more competently, adopting a number of tactics from the Germans. At a lower command level, as well as among ordinary fighters, there was no significant improvement in the quality of combat operations, because due to huge losses, a large turnover of personnel remained. The improvement in the relative quality of Soviet tanks and aircraft also played a role, as well as an increase in the level of training of pilots and tankers, although they were still inferior to the Germans in terms of the level of training even at the end of the war.

But an even greater role than the growth of the combat capability of the Red Army in the defeat of Germany on the Eastern Front was played by the decline in the combat capability of the Wehrmacht. Due to the ever-increasing irretrievable losses, the proportion of experienced soldiers and officers decreased. Due to the need to replace increasing losses, by the end of the war, the level of training of pilots and tankers decreased, although it remained higher than that of their Soviet opponents. This drop in the level of training could not even compensate for the growth in the quality of military equipment. But more importantly, starting in November 1942, after the Allied landings in Northern

174 Smirnov E.I. War and military medicine. P. 188, Fig. 3.

Africa, Germany had to send more and more aviation, and then ground forces, to fight against the Western allies. Germany had to make greater use of its weaker allies.

The defeat by the Red Army of significant Italian, Romanian and Hungarian troops in late 1942 - early 1943 and in the second half of 1944 - early 1945 significantly improved the ratio of irretrievable losses in favor of the Soviet side and significantly increased the numerical advantage of the Red Army over the Wehrmacht. Another turning point here occurred after the Allied landings in Normandy in June 1944. It was from July 1944 that there was a sharp increase in the irretrievable losses of the German army, primarily prisoners. In June, the irretrievable losses of the ground forces amounted to 58 thousand people, and in July - 369 thousand and remained at such a high level until the end of the war. This is due to the fact that Germany was forced to withdraw significant forces of the ground forces and the Luftwaffe from the Eastern Front, due to which the Soviet numerical superiority in men increased to seven or even to eight times, which made it impossible for any effective defense.

Explaining the huge Soviet casualties, German generals usually point to the neglect of the lives of soldiers by the high command, the poor tactical training of the middle and lower command personnel, the stereotyped methods used during the offensive, the inability of both commanders and soldiers to make independent decisions. Such statements could be considered a simple attempt to belittle the dignity of the enemy, who nevertheless won the war, if not for numerous similar testimonies from the Soviet side. So, Zhores Medvedev recalls the battles near Novorossiysk in 1943: "The Germans near Novorossiysk had two lines of defense, perfectly fortified to a depth of about 33 km. It was believed that artillery preparation was very effective, but it seems to me that the Germans quickly adapted to it. Noticing that the equipment was concentrating and powerful shooting began, they went to the second line, leaving only a few machine gunners on the front line. They left and, with the same interest as we, observed all this noise and smoke. Then we were ordered to go forward. We walked, blew up on

mines and occupied the trenches - already almost empty, only two or three corpses lay there. Then the order was given - to attack the second line. It was then that up to 80% of the attackers died - after all, the Germans were sitting in excellent

fortified structures and shot all of us almost point-blank!" The American diplomat A. Harriman conveys Stalin's words that "in the Soviet Army one must have more courage to retreat than to advance" and comments on it this way: "This phrase of Stalin shows well that he was aware of the state of affairs in the army. We were shocked, but we understood that this was forcing the Red Army

175 Müller-Gillebrand B. Land Army of Germany. M., 2003. S. 716-717.

176 See: World War 1939-1945. pp. 153-154; Mellenthin F. Tank battles 1939-1945 Per. from English. M., 1957. S. 148, 244-246, 252.

177 Star. 1990. No. 3. S. 140-141.

fight ... Our military, who consulted with the Germans after

war, they told me that the most destructive thing in the Russian offensive was its mass character. The Russians came wave after wave. The Germans literally mowed them down, but as a result of such pressure one wave broke through" '75.

And here is the testimony of the battles in December 1943 in Belarus of the former platoon commander V. Dyatlov: "A chain of people in civilian clothes with huge "sidors" behind their backs passed by, in the course of the message." "Slavs, who are you, where are you from?" - I asked. - "We are from the Oryol region, replenishment." - "What kind of replenishment, when in civilian clothes and without rifles?" - "Yes, they said that you would get it in battle ..."

The artillery strike on the enemy lasted five minutes. 36 guns of the artillery regiment "hollowed out" the front line of the Germans. From the discharges of shells, visibility became even worse ...

And here is the attack. The chain rose, writhing like a black, curved snake. Behind her is the second. And those black snakes writhing and moving were so absurd, so unnatural on the gray-white earth! Black on snow is a perfect target. And the German "watered" these chains with dense lead. Many firing points came to life. Large-caliber machine guns fired from the second line of the trench. The chains are stuck. The battalion commander yelled: "Forward, your mother! Forward!.. In battle! Forward! I'll shoot!" But it was impossible to get up. Try to tear yourself off the ground under artillery, machine-gun and automatic fire...

The commanders still managed to raise the "black" village infantry several times. But all in vain. The enemy fire was so dense that, after running a couple of steps, people fell as if they had been cut down. We, the gunners, also could not reliably help - there was no visibility, the Germans camouflaged the firing points well, and, most likely, the main machine-gun fire was fired from bunkers, and therefore the firing of our guns did not give the desired results.

The same memoirist very colorfully describes the reconnaissance in force, so praised by many memoirists from among marshals and generals, carried out by a battalion of penalists: "Two divisions of our regiment participated in a ten-minute fire raid - and that's it. There was silence for a few seconds after the fire. Then the battalion commander jumped out of the trench onto the parapet: "Guys, ah! For the Motherland! For Stalin! Behind me! Hooray!" The penitentiaries slowly crawled out of the trench and, as if waiting for the last, throwing their rifles at the ready, ran. A groan or a cry with a drawn-out "ah-ah-ah" shimmered from left to right and again to the left, now fading, now intensifying. We also jumped out of the trench and ran forward. The Germans threw a series of red rockets towards the attackers and immediately opened a powerful mortar and artillery fire. The chains lay down, we also lay down - a little behind in the longitudinal furrow. I couldn't raise my head. How to detect and to whom to detect enemy targets in this hell? His artillery hit from covered positions and far from the flanks. They also beat heavy guns. Several tanks fired at direct fire, their blank shells whining overhead...

Penal boxes lay in front of the German trench in an open field and in small bushes, and the German "threshed" this field, plowing both the earth and

bushes, and the bodies of people ... Only seven people left us with a battalion of fines, but there were all together - 306 "!".

By the way, there was no attack in this area.

We have a story about such senseless and bloody attacks in the memoirs and letters of German soldiers and junior officers. One unnamed witness describes the attack of units of the 37th Soviet army of A.A. Vlasov to the height occupied by the Germans near Kiev in August 1941, and his description in detail coincides with the story of the Soviet officer given above. Here is the useless artillery preparation past the German positions, and the attack in thick waves, dying under German machine guns, and the unknown commander, unsuccessfully trying to raise his people and dying from a German bullet. Similar attacks on a not very important height continued for three days in a row. The German soldiers were most struck by the fact that when the whole wave perished, single soldiers still continued to run forward (the Germans were incapable of such senseless actions). These failed attacks nevertheless exhausted the Germans physically. And, as the German soldier recalls, he and his comrades were most shocked and depressed by the methodicalness and scale of these attacks: "If the Soviets can afford to spend so many people trying to eliminate such insignificant results of our advance, then how often and how many people they will attack if the object is really very important? 180 (The German author could not imagine that otherwise the Red Army simply did not know how to attack and could not.)

And in a letter from a German soldier home during the retreat from Kursk in the second half of 1943, it is described, as in the quoted letter of V. Dyatlov, an attack by almost unarmed and non-equipped reinforcements from the newly liberated territories (the same Oryol region), in which the vast majority died participants (according to an eyewitness, even women were among those called). The prisoners said that the authorities suspected the inhabitants of collaborating with the occupying authorities, and mobilization served as a form of punishment for them. And in the same letter, an attack by Soviet penalty boxers through a German minefield to blow up mines at the cost of their own lives is described (the story of Marshal G.K. Zhukov about this practice of the Soviet troops is cited in his memoirs by D. Eisenhower). And again, the German soldier was most struck by the obedience of the mobilized and the penalized. Captured penalists, "with rare exceptions, never complained about such treatment." they said that life is hard and that "you have to pay for mistakes". Such submissiveness of the Soviet soldiers clearly shows that the Soviet regime brought up not only commanders capable of issuing such inhuman orders, but also soldiers capable of carrying out such orders unquestioningly.

About the inability of the Red Army to fight otherwise than at the cost of

179 Komsomolskaya Pravda, 1993, 24 June. P. 3. 180 Gisi \$.]  
U'ar op Fe Eachegp Prop @; {Ve Segman 501Ch4er sh Vizcha. G., 1991. R 31-33.

181 119. R. 35-36; Compare: Ebeproteg r. Sgazade piece Eigore. M. U., 1977. R. 465-468.

great blood, there is evidence of high Soviet military leaders



rank. So, Marshal A.I. Eremenko characterizes the features of the "art of war" of the famous (deservedly?) "Marshal of Victory" G.K. Zhukov: "It should be said that Zhukov's operational art is 5-6 times superior in strength, otherwise he will not get down to business, he does not know how to fight not in numbers and builds his career on blood" 12. By the way, in another case, he or A.I. Eremenko conveyed his impression of getting to know the memoirs of the German generals in this way: "The question naturally arises why the Nazi "heroes", who "won" our squad together, and five together a whole platoon, could not complete the tasks in the first period of the war, when the undeniable numerical and technical superiority was on their side? 133 It turns out that the irony here is ostentatious, for A.I. Yeremenko actually knew very well that the German military leaders did not exaggerate the balance of power in favor of the Red Army. After all, G.K. Zhukov led the main operations in the main directions and had an overwhelming superiority of forces and means. Another thing is that other Soviet generals and marshals were hardly able to fight otherwise than G.K. Zhukov, and A.I. Eremenko was no exception here.

We also note that the huge irretrievable losses of the Red Army did not allow, to the same extent as in the Wehrmacht, and even more so in the armies of the Western allies, to retain experienced soldiers and junior commanders, which reduced the soldering and stamina of the units and did not allow replenishment fighters to learn combat experience from veterans , which further increased the losses. Such an unfavorable ratio of irretrievable losses for the USSR was the result of a fundamental flaw in the communist totalitarian system, which deprived people of the ability to independently make decisions and act, taught everyone, including the military, to act according to a template, to avoid even reasonable risk and, more than the enemy, to be afraid of responsibility before their higher authorities.

As the former intelligence officer E.I. Malashenko, who rose to the rank of lieutenant general after the war, even at the very end of the war, Soviet troops often acted very inefficiently: "A few hours before the onset of our division on March 10, a reconnaissance group ... captured a prisoner. He showed that the main forces of his regiment were withdrawn 8-10 km in depth ... By telephone, I reported this information to the division commander, who - to the commander. The division commander gave us his car to deliver the prisoner to the army headquarters. Approaching the command post, we heard the rumble of the artillery preparation that had begun. Unfortunately, it was carried out on unoccupied positions. Thousands of shells delivered with great difficulty through the Carpathians (this happened on the 4th Ukrainian Front. - B.S.) turned out to be spent in vain. The surviving enemy with stubborn resistance stopped the advance of our troops. The same author gives a comparative assessment of the combat qualities of German and Soviet soldiers and officers - not in favor of the Red Army:

182 Moscow region. 1994. No. 25. S. 5.

183 Eremenko A.I. Against the falsification of the history of the Second World War. M., 1958. S. 93.

"German soldiers and officers fought well. The rank and file was well trained, skillfully acted on the offensive and in defense. Well-trained non-commissioned officers played a more prominent role in combat than

our sergeants, many of whom were almost indistinguishable from the rank and file. Enemy infantry constantly fired intensely, acted persistently and swiftly in the offensive, stubbornly defended and carried out quick counterattacks, usually supported by artillery fire, and sometimes by air strikes. The tankers also aggressively attacked, fired on the move and from short stops, skillfully maneuvered and conducted reconnaissance. In case of failure, they quickly concentrated their efforts in another direction, often striking at the junctions and flanks of our units. Artillery promptly opened fire and sometimes conducted it very accurately. She had a large amount of ammunition. German officers skillfully organized the battle and controlled the actions of their subunits and units, skillfully used the terrain, and timely maneuvered in a favorable direction. With the threat of encirclement or defeat, German units and subunits made an organized retreat in depth, usually to occupy a new line. Soldiers and officers of the enemy were intimidated by rumors of reprisals against prisoners, they rarely surrendered without a fight ...

Our infantry was trained weaker than the German. However, she fought bravely. Of course, there were cases of panic and premature withdrawal, especially at the beginning of the war. The infantry was greatly helped by artillery, the most effective was the Katyusha fire in repelling enemy counterattacks and striking at areas where troops were concentrated and concentrated. However, artillery in the initial period of the war had few shells. It must be admitted that the tank units in the attacks did not always act skillfully. At the same time, in the operational depth during the development of the offensive, they showed themselves brilliantly "18".

The unreasonably large losses of the Soviet armed forces in the Great Patriotic War were recognized even then by some Soviet generals, although this was by no means safe. For example, Lieutenant General S.A. Kalinin, who previously commanded the army, and then was engaged in the preparation of reserves, had the imprudence to write in his diary that the Supreme High Command "does not care about maintaining human reserves and allows heavy losses in individual operations." This, along with others, "anti-Soviet" statement cost the general a sentence of 25 years in the camps!. And another military leader - Major General of Aviation A.A. Turzhansky - in 1942 he received only 12 years in the camps for a completely fair opinion about the reports of the Sovinformburo, which "are intended only to calm the masses and do not correspond to reality, since they downplay our losses and exaggerate the losses of the enemy" 1565.

184 Malashenko E.I. I have been in intelligence since the forty-first ... // Military History Journal. 1995. No. 3. pp. 77-78.

185 Muranov A.I., Zvyagintsev V.E. Dossier on the marshal: From the history of closed trials. M., 1996. S. 200.

186 Ibid. pp. 177-179.

It is interesting that the ratio of irretrievable losses between Russian and German troops in the First World War was approximately the same as in the Great Patriotic War. This follows from a study conducted by S.G. Nelipovich. In the second half of 1916 the troops

Russians of the Northern and Western fronts lost 54 thousand killed and 42.35 thousand missing. The German troops operating on these fronts, and the few Austro-Hungarian divisions fighting on the Western Front, lost 7.7 thousand killed and 6.1 thousand missing.<sup>187</sup> This gives a ratio of 7.0: 1 both in terms of killed and On the Southwestern Front, Russian losses amounted to 202,800 killed, the Austrian troops operating against it lost 55,100 killed, and the German troops - 21,200 killed. , especially taking into account the fact that in the second half of 1916 Germany had far from the best divisions on the Eastern Front, mostly secondary divisions. If we assume that the ratio of Russian and German losses here was the same as on the other two fronts, then from of the Russian Southwestern Front, approximately 148.4 thousand soldiers and officers were killed in battles against the Germans, and approximately 54.4 thousand in battles against the Austro-Hungarian troops. Thus, with the Austrians, the ratio of losses killed was even slightly in our favor - 1.01: 1, and the Austrians lost significantly more prisoners than the Russians - 377.8 thousand missing against 152.7 thousand among the Russians on the entire Southwestern Front, including in battles against the German troops. If we extend these coefficients to the entire war as a whole, the ratio between the total losses of Russia and its opponents killed and died from wounds, diseases and in captivity can be estimated as 1.9:1. This calculation is made as follows. German losses on the Eastern Front of the First World War amounted, including losses on the Romanian front, to 173.8 thousand killed and 143.3 thousand missing. In total, according to official data, there were 177.1 thousand prisoners of war in Russia, of which more than 101 thousand people were repatriated by the end of 1918!<sup>188</sup> Died in captivity before the spring of 1918 15.5 thousand people.<sup>189</sup> Perhaps some of the German prisoners repatriated later or died. The official Russian figure of German prisoners is probably overestimated due to subjects of the German Empire interned in Russia. In any case, almost all the missing German soldiers on the Eastern Front can be attributed to prisoners. If we assume that during the entire war there were on average seven Russians per dead German soldier

187 Nelipovich S.G. Brusilovsky breakthrough. The offensive of the Southwestern Front in the campaign of 1916. M.: Tseikhgauz, 2006. P. 45. See also: Nelipovich S.G. Russia kept a stranglehold on its enemies. Official data on the losses of the armies of the Central Powers in the battles against the Russian army in 1914-1918. // VIZH. 2000. No. 5. pp. 46-55.

188 Nelipovich S.G. Russia kept a stranglehold on its enemies. Official data on the losses of the armies of the Central Powers in the battles against the Russian army in 1914-1918. // VIZH. 2000. No. 5. S. 55.

189 Uralanis B.Ts. Wars and the population of Europe. S. 324.

soldiers, the total losses of Russia in the fight against Germany can be estimated at 1217 thousand killed. The losses of the Austro-Hungarian army on the Russian front in 1914-1918 amounted to 311.7 thousand killed. Losses of Austro-Hungarian missing reached 1194.1 thousand people, which is less than Russian data on the number of Austro-Hungarian prisoners - 1750 thousand. The excess was probably formed due to civilian prisoners in

Galicia and Bukovina, as well as double counting in reports!<sup>190</sup>. As in the case of Germany, in the case of Austria-Hungary, one can be sure that almost all those missing on the Russian front are prisoners of war. 'Then, spreading the proportion between Russian and Austrian killed, which we established for the second half of 1916, for the entire period of the First World War, Russian losses in the fight against the Austro-Hungarian troops can be estimated at 308.6 thousand people. Losses of Turkey in the First World War by those killed by B.Ts. Uralnis is estimated at 250 thousand people, of which, in his opinion, probably up to 150 thousand people fall on the Caucasian front! ". However, this figure is doubtful. The fact is that the same B.Ts. Uralnis cites data that 65 thousand Turks were in Russian captivity, and 110 thousand in British captivity? 2. It can be assumed that that the real combat activity in the Middle East (including the Thessaloniki front) and the Caucasian theaters of military operations differed in the same proportion, given that there were no active hostilities on the Caucasian front since the beginning of 1917. At that time, the number of Turkish soldiers killed in hostilities against the Caucasian front, as well as against the Russian troops in Galicia and Romania can be estimated at 93 thousand people. The losses of the Russian army in the fight against Turkey are unknown. Given that the Turkish troops were significantly inferior to the Russians in terms of combat readiness, the losses of the Russian Caucasian Front can be estimated at half the Turkish losses - in 46.5 thousand killed. The losses of the Turks in the fight against the Anglo-French troops can be estimated at 157 thousand killed. Of these, about half died at the Dardanelles, where Turkish troops lost 74.6 thousand people, British troops, including New Zealanders, Australians, Indians and Canadians - 33.0 thousand killed, and French troops - about 10 thousand killed?<sup>193</sup>. This gives a ratio of 1.7:1, close to that which we assumed for the losses of the Turkish and Russian armies.

The total losses of the Russian army killed in the First World War can be estimated at 1601 thousand people, and the losses of its opponents - at 607 thousand people, or 2.6 times less. For comparison, we define the ratio

190 Nelipovich S.G. "Russia held its enemies in a stranglehold." Official data on the losses of the armies of the Central Powers in the battles against the Russian army in 1914-1918. // VIZH. 2000. No. 5. S. 46-55; Uralnis B.Ts. Decree. op. S. 324.

191 Uralnis B.Ts. Decree. op. pp. 151, 164. 192 Ibid. 325.

Rau 2010 2010, Arg1 8. \_ Tse Sashroy Sashra! op, Aizganap Reragypepi oYo Veegapz' ANayz. 193 AMAAS (B Er://mgilig.Aua.doh.al/pemgz agsue/Oositet\$/Twe%20CaShrop %2 °Satra19pt.rarf.

losses killed on the Western Front of the First World War, where German troops fought with English, French and Belgian. Here, Germany lost 590.9 thousand people killed before August 1, 1918. For the last 3 months and 11 days of the war, the German loss of life can be estimated at about one quarter of the previous 12 months of the war, taking into account that in November there was almost no fighting. German losses in the period August 1, 1917 to July 31, 1918, according to the official sanitary report, amounted to 181.8 thousand killed. Given this loss

in the last months of the war can be estimated at 45.5 thousand people, and all the losses of Germany killed on the Western Front - at 636.4 thousand people. The losses of the French ground forces killed and died of wounds in the First World War amounted to 1104.9 thousand people. If we subtract from this number 232 thousand dead from wounds, the loss of those killed can be estimated at 873 thousand people. Probably about 850,000 were killed on the Western Front. English troops in France and Flanders lost 381 thousand people killed. The total loss of killed British dominions amounted to 119 thousand people. Of these, at least 90 thousand died on the Western Front. Belgium lost 13.7 thousand people killed! ". American troops lost 37,000 killed.<sup>190</sup>. The total losses of the allies killed in the West are approximately 1,372 thousand people, and Germany - 636 thousand people. The loss ratio turns out to be 2.2:1, which turns out to be three times more favorable for the Entente than the ratio between Russia and Germany.

The extremely unfavorable ratio of Russian losses to Germany is equalized by the losses of the German allies. To get the total irretrievable losses of Russia in the First World War, it is necessary to add to the losses killed the losses of those who died from wounds, died of diseases and died in captivity - respectively 240 thousand, 160 thousand (together with victims of suicide and accidents) and 190 thousand. Human. Then the total irretrievable losses of the Russian army can be estimated at 2.2 million people. The total number of Russian prisoners is estimated at 2.6 million people. "In Russian captivity, approximately 15.5 thousand German and at least 50 thousand Austro-Hungarian soldiers died, as well as about 10 thousand Turks. The total number of deaths from wounds in the German army is estimated at 320 thousand people. Given that the Eastern Front accounts for about 21.5% of all killed German soldiers, Germany's losses in the fight against Russia who died from wounds can be estimated at 69 thousand people. The number of deaths from diseases and accidents in the German army is defined as 166 thousand people. Of these, the Russian front may account for up to 36 thousand people. The Austrians lost 170 thousand people who died from wounds and 120 thousand people who died from diseases. Since the Russian front accounts for 51.2 % of all losses of Austria-Hungary (4273.9 thousand people out of 8349.2 thousand) 197, then the number of deaths from wounds and deaths from diseases,

194 Ulanis B.Ts. Decree. op. pp. 150-157. 195 Ibid. S. 160.

196 Ibid. pp. 174, 299, 331, 320.

197 Nelipovich S.G. Russia kept a stranglehold on its enemies. S. 55.

related to the Russian front, can be estimated at 87 thousand and 61 thousand people, respectively. The Turks lost 68,000 dead from wounds and 467,000 from disease. Of these, the Russian front accounts for 25,000 and 173,000 respectively. The total irretrievable losses of Russia's opponents in the First World War amounted to about 1133.5 thousand people. The ratio of total deadweight losses turns out to be 1.9:1. It becomes even more favorable for the Russian side than the ratio of dead only, due to the significant mortality from disease in the Turkish army.

The ratio of losses in the First World War was much more favorable for the Russian army than in the Second World War, only due to the fact that in 1914-1918 on the Russian front the main

In this way, not German, but much less combat-ready Austro-Hungarian troops fought.

Such an unfavorable for Russia (USSR) ratio of losses in the two world wars in relation to the losses of the German troops is explained primarily by the general economic and cultural backwardness of Russia in comparison with Germany and with the Western allies. In the case of the Second World War, the situation was aggravated due to the peculiarities of Stalinist totalitarianism, which destroyed the army as an effective instrument of warfare.

Stalin failed, as he urged, to overcome the ten-year lag behind the leading capitalist countries, which he defined as 50-100 years! On the other hand, he completely remained in line with the late imperial tradition, preferring to win not with skill, but with great bloodshed, since he saw a potential threat to the regime in creating a highly professional army.

The totalitarian system ensured the stability of the state during the period of the most severe defeats. Defeats did not lead to revolution, and the Soviet Union was able to win the final victory. But the fact that Germany attacked the USSR during the period of the virtual absence of the Second Front in Europe led to the fact that the main ground forces of the German army, unlike the First World War, fought against the Red Army during 1941-1945 (with that the main forces of the Luftwaffe and the German fleet fought throughout the war against the Western Allies). This led to the fact that the irretrievable losses of the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War were an order of magnitude higher than the losses of the Russian army in the First World War. The losses of the Anglo-American troops killed were equal or even less than the German losses on those fronts of the Second World War, where the Wehrmacht had to fight against the Western allies? °°.

198 Ulanis B.Ts. Decree. op. pp. 324-325, 174, 304, 331.

199 "We are 50-100 years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or they will crush us "(Stalin I.V. On the tasks of business executives. Speech at the First All-Union Conference of Socialist Industry Workers on February 4, 1931 // Collected Works. T. 13. M.: OGIZ, 1951. C. 39).

200 According to our estimate, the ratio of losses killed in Italy between the German troops and the Anglo-American troops was approximately equal, and in the Western European theater of operations, the ratio of losses killed after

It is interesting that, unlike the First World War, in the Great Patriotic War the Red Army used up more ammunition than the German army and its allies on the Eastern Front - 8.0 million tons against 5.6 million tons? Here, the fact that the German artillery fired mainly aimed fire, while the Soviet fired more at the squares, had an effect. As V.I. Thank you, "from June 22, 1941 to July 31, 1942, the German ground forces spent 745 thousand tons of artillery ammunition (about 57 thousand tons monthly), and taking into account other types of ammunition, the consumption averaged 85 thousand tons - almost two times less than that of the Red Army "?". Contrary to popular belief, much better security

ammunition of the Soviet troops in comparison with the Russian army in the First World War did not lead to a decrease in the casualties of the Red Army.

The relative military weakness of the USSR compared to Germany, paradoxically, helped Stalin win the war. In the choice between two totalitarian regimes, Western democracies inevitably had to take the side of the weakest, as representing the least threat to them, and thereby ensure his victory. The Western allies not only diverted to themselves a significant part of the German ground forces (in the last year of the war - up to 40%), almost the entire fleet and more than 2/3 of the German aviation? Western deliveries provided the main part of high-octane gasoline for Soviet aviation, more than half of all aluminum and copper consumed in the USSR during the war, almost completely covered the needs of Soviet railway transport?°. The United States received the most

the landings in Normandy were approximately 1.6:1 in favor of the Western Allies, mainly due to the losses of 1945 (Assessed by: Ulanis B.Ts. Wars and population of Europe. S. 221-235; Müller-Hillebrand B. Land army of Germany V. I. Dashichev, The Bankruptcy of the Strategy of German Fascism, Moscow: Nauka, 1973. V. 2.

pp. 637-638; McDonald C.B. The Ordeal: American Forces in the European Theater during World War II. Per. from English. M.: Military Publishing House, 1979. S.

346).

201 The weapon of victory. Under total ed. V.N. Novikov. Ed. 2nd. M.: Mashinostroenie, 1987. S. 447.

202 Thank you V. Food for the god Mars // Independent military review, 2001, July 13. It is also noted here that during the First World War, Russia used up about 1 million tons of artillery ammunition, and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the Eastern Front - about 3 million tons.

203 So, for example, in July and August 1943, during the Battle of Kursk, when a significant part of the German aviation was sent to the Soviet-German front, it accounted for only 1030 of the 3213 combat aircraft lost in battle, or 32% (Miggau I / TaymaEe, Vatoge, 1985, P 154). Approximately this was probably the share of the Eastern Front in the combat losses of German aviation for the war as a whole.

204 Estimate by: /opez V.N. Tbe Voaa\$ yu Visa: Chptsey 5 {fafez Hepa-Geaze fo She 5ome Opyup. Mogtap, 1969. R 220-224, 280-289; National Economy of the USSR in the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945: Statistical Collection. M., 1990. S. 55-56; See also: Vannikov B.L. Notes of the People's Commissar // Banner. 1988. 2. S. 155.

205 See: Smirnov A.A. The unsystematic nature of us in general // Choice of the path

sophisticated machine tools and equipment, a significant proportion of the explosives consumed by the Soviet industry.

In the purely military sphere, the backwardness of the Russian tsarist army

The German Kaiser's army was determined primarily by errors in the preparation of the Russian officer corps. In Russian military educational institutions, in contrast to German ones, the emphasis was on theory, and not on the practical application of command skills and the ability to conduct a real battle. The lag was aggravated by the low functional literacy of the mass of soldiers, the inability of most soldiers and non-commissioned officers to make the right independent decisions. Advanced, thinking officers understood the danger of the situation. In 1910, Professor of the Academy of the General Staff N.N. Golovin, a future general and an active participant in the Russian Liberation Movement of General Vlasov, who wrote the Charter of the Internal Service of the ROA, began to introduce an applied method of teaching tactics based on the experience of the French, German and other Western armies. He also introduced the course of the service of the General Staff, that is, the course of training in the technique of staff work, which had not previously been taught to officers. However, by the beginning of World War I, Golovin, his patron General D.G. Shcherbachev, the head of the Academy, and other progressive-minded teachers were removed from the Academy, and they were suspected almost ... of revolutionary moods ""5.

The reform of the army did not begin, and soon the First World War began, in which the shortcomings of the Russian army were catastrophically aggravated by the lack of shells (the main losses in the two world wars were incurred by the troops from artillery fire). Excessively large human losses became one of the prerequisites for the revolution and the subsequent catastrophe of historical Russia. At the same time, significantly losing to the German army, the Russian imperial army, on an equal footing and even with some superiority in the number of prisoners, fought with the Austro-Hungarian imperial-royal army, which was considered one of the strongest in Europe. As N.N. Golovin, "depending on the ability, degree of training and even the tastes of this or that person, we paid attention to one or another issue; this issue was resolved one way or another, but we did not have the scientifically substantiated synthesis that was available in France or Germany" 77. At the same time, "before the war of 1914, we did not develop a doctrine. There were attempts to copy the Germans or the French. But in view of the fact that the doctrine is entirely determined by the properties of its armed force and local conditions, this provision even more gave the strategy of our senior command staff and the General Staff the character of groundlessness and scholasticism. According to Golovin, "our tactics were up to the mark; the strategy was lame." And for the lack of proper

(collection of articles in memory of V.L. Makhnach). M.: IRSI, 2010. S. 247-248.

206 Golovin N.N. Military efforts of Russia in the world war. Paris: Tov-vo united publishers, 1939. Vol. 1. S. 25.

207 Golovin N.N. Military efforts of Russia in the world war // Military thought in exile. Creativity of the Russian military emigration (Russian military collection. Issue 16). Moscow: Military University; Russian way, 1999. S. 81.

strategy, as well as for the lack of military equipment, "had to pay with rivers of blood" 258.

The Soviet Union had to pay tens of millions



human lives not only for Stalin's totalitarianism in itself, but also for Stalin's desire to expand the empire. Rivers of excess blood now had to be shed not only for the lack of a competent strategy aimed at saving soldiers' lives, but also for vicious tactics. Unlike the tsarist generals of the First World War, Stalin and his generals and marshals did not hesitate to throw absolutely untrained reinforcements to the slaughter. In addition, if in the First World War the Russian army paid with blood for the lack of equipment, and above all artillery, then in the Second World War the Soviet army paid with blood for its overabundance. The desire for megalomania, to have as many tanks and planes as possible, led to the fact that there were more tanks and planes than pilots and tankers who knew how to fly them.

On the whole, Soviet totalitarianism significantly worsened the quality of the armies, since the ratio of losses to those killed with the German army became one and a half times worse compared to the First World War.

You can try to undertake a study to more accurately determine the irretrievable losses of the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War. For this, it is necessary, following the example of S.G. Nelipovich and his comrades, who did a similar study in relation to the losses of the Russian army in the second half of 1916, take regimental reports on losses, the number of personnel and replenishments. In total, in this case, researchers, according to the most conservative estimates, will have to deal with more than 5 million documents. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the Russian irretrievable losses in the First World War were almost 10 times, i.e. an order of magnitude less than the losses of the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War. In order to carry out this work at least in 20-30 years, it is necessary to attract hundreds of researchers. Moreover, they will not only have to mechanically rewrite data from documents, but also search and analyze these documents, each time building a balance between data on losses, replenishments and the number of personnel for different dates. Unfortunately, the experience of working in the archives convinces us that there are very large gaps in the reports regarding the accounting of losses and the number of personnel at the regimental and divisional level. In them, in particular, those called up directly to the unit were not recorded. For example, as L.N. Lopukhovsky, in the file of the 93rd Guards Rifle Division for July 1943 in the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense (TsAMO) "there is no data on the losses of the division for July 10, 11, 12 and 14. The corresponding sheets have been removed from the file, and the numbering has been corrected"°. Therefore, each researcher will quickly encounter the problem of imbalance, and it will be almost impossible to determine whether it has occurred.

208 Lopukhovsky L.N. Prokhorovka without a stamp of secrecy. M.: Yauza, EKSMO, 2005. S. 463, note. 113.

209 See: Uralis B.Ts. Wars and the population of Europe. M.: Sotsekgiz, 1960. S. 236-239.

due to the return to their units of some of those who were previously reported missing or due to the receipt of replenishment unaccounted for in the documents in the regiment. Due to all these reasons, it seems to us that a study of this kind to determine the magnitude of the irretrievable losses of the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War

today is impossible. But such an accounting of irretrievable losses according to regimental reports can be carried out in order to create the most complete nominal database of the dead and missing during the Great Patriotic War. At the same time, it should be noted that it is not possible to use this base, as well as the already existing base of irretrievable losses of the Ministry of Defense to calculate the total amount of irretrievable losses, since it is impossible to determine what percentage of the true number of dead was in this base.

## Part 2

### Losses of other countries participating in World War II

#### Losses of countries in Asia and Oceania (Asia-Pacific theater of operations)

#### Chinese losses

Let's start with a country whose losses cannot be estimated even approximately.

This is China. He waged war with Japan from July 7, 1937 until the Japanese surrender. In fact, the Japanese-Chinese war can be considered an integral part of the Second World War. How many Chinese soldiers and civilians died from the famine and epidemics caused by the war, in principle, it is impossible to calculate exactly. The first population census in China took place only in 1950, and mass mortality from famine and epidemics was typical for China in the pre-war years, especially since in the 20s and 30s, as well as in the second half of the 40s the country was engulfed in civil war. There are no demographic statistics, nor any reliable statistics on the losses of Chinese government troops and Mao Zedong's communist guerrillas in the fight against the Japanese.

Chinese troops, according to official data from the government of Chiang Kai-shek on June 7, 1945, in the war with Japan lost 1,310,000 killed, 1,753,000 wounded and 115,000 missing. According to the statement of the command of the army of the national (Kuomintang) China on September 28, 1945, 1.8 million Chinese soldiers died in the war with Japan, and about 1.7 million were wounded or missing. Taking into account the losses of the communist guerrillas and the dead among the missing, the total irretrievable losses of the Chinese military must have exceeded 2 million people?' Uralis, in particular, appreciates

210 Uralis B.Ts. Population. Research, journalism. M.: Statistics, 1976. S. 203.

the number of deaths of Chinese soldiers in 2.5 million people "?". There are more

the high figure of losses of the Chinese army in 4 million dead and dead ???. It is possible that this estimate does not contradict the previous one, since it also includes soldiers who died of starvation and disease. Mortality from the action of these factors, of course, was very high and could well

be comparable to mortality from combat causes.

As for the data on the losses of the Chinese civilian population, they are purely conditional. So, V. Erlikhman estimates them at 7.2 million people, and 2.5 million dead soldiers add another 300 thousand dead in captivity, obviously, so that the total loss figure reaches 10 million, although there is no reliable data on the total number of Chinese prisoners, nor how many died?<sup>3</sup> There are also lower ratings. V.G. Petrovich determines the total losses of China at 5 million people.

"Obviously, here the losses of the civilian population are simply taken in the amount of the losses of the army. There are much higher estimates. Thus, Yu.V. Tavrovsky estimates the losses of the civilian population of China at 16 million dead, but in this case, the estimate is clearly made in such a way that the losses of the army and the civilian population together amount to 20 million people?? during the great Sino-Japanese war in 1937 and in the course of the preceding armed incidents of 1931-1937, after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria?<sup>5</sup> The fantasticness of these figures is visible, as they say, to the naked eye. with the Japanese to lose less than in the six and a half years of the subsequent war with the same Japanese. In fact, the figure of 35 million includes both dead and wounded. This is the official loss figure adopted in communist China, and it consists of 20 million dead and 15 million wounded?

At the end of the war, Chinese troops accepted the surrender of the Japanese

211 Tavrovsky Yu.V. . The Forgotten Half of World War II // Nezavisimaya Gazeta, Dipkurier Supplement, 2010, May 17.

212 Erlikhman V.V. Population loss in the 20th century. Directory. M.: Russian panorama, 2004. S. 70.

213 Petrovich V.G. Patriotic history of the XX - beginning of the XXMG century. A course of lectures for distance learning based on the textbook of the group of authors under the guidance of Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences A.O. Chubaryan // [y1\\$.15ep{etÿer.gy/agis1eÿÿÿÿ6ÿ?TO=200500109](#)

214 Tavrovsky Yu.V. Forgotten half of World War II.

215 Stepanova E. . Russian historians have prepared a new book about World War II // Rossiyskaya Gazeta, 2010, August 31. Here the opinion of N.A. Narochitskaya.

216 Cita's Ania-Jarapese V'ar Coshbae OregaNot\$. (m Ctese) Cuo Species, edKog-sh-ceE Nchapa Ua7Vapd L]nadzi. Rekta: Reorle'5 Rita Nochze, 2005 RR 4-9

217 U Sbpashm. Vesheshfeg gesh en@119 Yoa\$s1\${ mag // SShpa daPu, 2005, 15 Aidiz(. R.4 (Bir://lilm.sytadaPu.sot.sp/ ep91\$8/90s/2005 08/1 5/ soshepe 468908. at)

troops numbering 1280 thousand people". The Chinese armies opposing this group probably outnumbered it.

2-3 times. The maximum size of the army of the Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek was 4.3 million people, of which no more than 800 thousand people participated in active hostilities. The communist troops of Mao Zedong, acting in alliance with the Kuomintang (which did not exclude periodically occurring armed clashes between the communists and the Kuomintang), totaled about 1.3 million people in two armies (4th and 8th), formally subordinate to the Kuomintang command, and a number of irregular units. Of these forces, no more than 250 thousand people participated in the battles with the Japanese. Chinese troops were many times inferior to the Japanese in firepower and training.

Here are the official data of the government of national (Kuomintang) China on the distribution of losses by killed and wounded by years, published at the end of 1944 ???:

Losses of China in the war with Japan

Years Number of killed and wounded

1937 (6 months) 366 382 1938  
735 417

1939 341 543

1940 673 386

1941 282 169

1942 246 390

1943 87 113

1944 (6 months) 69 820 Total  
2802 820

According to later data published after the end of the civil war by the government of the Republic of China in Taiwan, the total losses of the Kuomintang army in the war with Japan amounted to 3238 thousand people, including 1797 thousand wounded, 1320 thousand killed and 120 thousand missing. ??°. This ratio between the number of wounded and killed, 1.36:1, proves that due to the high level of casualties, the medical service in the Kuomintang army was rather weak and with

218 Ulanis B.Ts. Wars and the population of Europe. P. 236. Primary source: PritAt S. Rorchanon Spapdess and Echgore zshse 1939. Hopon, 1951. P. 112.

219 Ni lons-usien "H1zory oe sto-Jarapese xrar (1937-1945)" Tarer, 1972.

220 Sypa, \$ ApN-] arapese Mag Soshfa { OregaNop \$. (t Spteze) Sio Widlu1, Ea. Bu Nchapt Wi7Bapd Lapdza. Rekta: Reore'5 RaBI\$toa Nochse, 2005 R. 4-9.

the battlefields did not have time to evacuate the seriously wounded. It can be assumed that as a result of this, the proportion of those who died from wounds was small and could be, as in the Red Army, about 77%. Then the total number of those who died from wounds in the Kuomintang army can be estimated at 126 thousand people. The total losses of the Kuomintang in the last year of the war, from July 44 to September 1945, can be estimated by subtracting from 3238 thousand losses in killed and wounded in the previous period (2802.8 thousand) and losses

missing (120 thousand). It turns out 315 thousand killed and wounded.

The losses of the communist troops in the fight against the Japanese are estimated by official statistics at 580,000 people?!, which is 5.4 times lower than our estimate of the losses of the Kuomintang. This proportion seems to us quite plausible and reflects the real contribution of the Communists and the Kuomintang to the victory over Japan. Since the medical service in the army of Mao Zedong was hardly better than in the army of Chiang Kai-shek, the proportion of those killed in the losses of the communist troops could not be less than one third. Then the total number of those killed here can be estimated at 193 thousand people, and the number of those who died from wounds, also taking the share as 7%, at 27 thousand.

Human.

The majority of the 120,000 missing Kuomintang soldiers must obviously be included among the prisoners. The number of prisoners from the communist army can be estimated at 22 thousand people. With this in mind, the total number of Chinese prisoners can be estimated at 142 thousand people. How many of them died in captivity is unknown, but the sometimes found figures of 400 thousand Chinese soldiers who died in Japanese captivity ??? are clearly absurd, since they far exceed the total number of Chinese prisoners of war. Given the fact that many Chinese prisoners entered the collaborationist formations, the number of deaths in captivity could not be large. The official figures of the PRC [6] also look significantly exaggerated: the losses of Chinese collaborationist formations in 1.18 million killed and wounded. After all, their role in the fighting was purely secondary. First of all, we are talking about the Manchukuo army led by Emperor Pu Yi, the army of the Provisional Government of the Republic of China in Beijing led by Wang Kemin and the government of the Republic of China in Nanjing led by Wang Jingwei. In total, until the end of the war, and mainly during the surrender in September 1945, the troops of the government of Chiang Kai-shek and the communist troops of Mao Zedong captured 950 thousand collaborators??. Considering that by the end of the war, the collaborationist formations had reached their maximum strength of 900 thousand people, it is quite unbelievable that their losses amounted to 1.18 million people, including 432 thousand dead, given that they carried out mainly security functions and almost did not participate in the battles. I think that the total number of those killed among the collaborators, along with the Chinese who died in Japanese captivity

221 Witte! IN. ]. Syta\$ Injoo4du Setzotu. Mem Vhapzulsk, M.]: Tranzasjohn Pubby-Verks, 1991. Maui 5A.

222 jyyjy»y jyy-Jarapese y/yj jyyj{ OregaNop\$(w Sbtese) Spo Vidl1. R. 4-9

223 Witte! K. } sbta'; Tojood Septag. R. 4-9.

soldiers hardly exceeds 100 thousand people.

The Kuomintang government claimed that a total of 5,787,352 civilians were killed or wounded as a result of the fighting??. Of this number, 335,934 were killed and 426,249 were injured as a result of Japanese bombing??. The remaining civilians, 5,025,169, were victims of ground fighting and war crimes by

Japanese. All civilian casualty figures seem to be greatly exaggerated. Japanese aviation, unlike the Anglo-American, did not have strategic bombers, and its activity was limited by an acute shortage of pilots. Meanwhile, according to existing estimates and official data, the results of the Japanese strategic bombing in terms of the number of victims were comparable to the Anglo-American bombing of Germany. But rather, one has to conclude that the number of victims is significantly overestimated.

Equally doubtful is the number of Chinese civilian casualties in ground combat. They were much less intense than on the European fronts, and it turns out that there were much more victims than in Europe. The same picture with the war crimes of the Japanese, the largest of which is considered the massacre of the population of Nanjing by Japanese soldiers in December 1937. The traditional figure is 300 thousand killed. Other estimates range from 155 thousand to 500 thousand. However, as the Russian historian V.E. Molodyakov, all the testimonies about the massacre of the civilian population by the Japanese in Nanjing are post-war and do not inspire much confidence. Thus, one of the witnesses who appeared before the Tokyo Tribunal during the trial of the main Japanese war criminals described "the mass execution of prisoners and civilians on the banks of the Yangtze on December 18, 1937, reported that 57,418 people were killed there. The witness was among them, but escaped with a minor injury and was able to hide in a cave, from where he watched what was happening. His testimony was accepted by the tribunal, which did not doubt the figure given. It is not so much the order that raises doubts, but the accuracy of the five-digit number, to the last person. It is interesting to know how the witness, wounded and hiding in the cave, could so accurately determine the number of his comrades in misfortune?

In addition to testimonies, the tribunal was presented with data on mass graves carried out in Nanjing and its environs by the Red Swastika Society (Chinese Red Cross) and a small charitable organization Chongshantang shortly after the capture of the city. These figures amounted to 43,071 and 112,261 respectively, i.e. a little over 155,000 in total. Both organizations drew up explanatory notes, indicating in them the place and time of the main burials, the number and gender of the buried, and the main places where the corpses were found. However, all these documents were prepared

224 But Rtd-I . Zachez op Fe RoruanNop oYo Sypa, 1368-1953. Sashfmade: Naguaga Oshmkhegzu Prez\$, 1959.

225 Molodyakov V.E. "The Nanjing Massacre" and Post-War Japan-2 // Llp://to]oChaKoh.Nue]opgpa1.com/1 6508.61.

retroactively, almost ten years after the events, on the basis of sources unknown to us - no contemporary documents were presented to the tribunal. It follows from the Chongshantang documents that this organization, with a funeral team of 12 people, without vehicles and bulldozers, buried an average of 2,600 people a day. From the point of view of common sense, this looks like pure fiction, so many authors consider this information to be a post-war fabrication. As for the data of the Red Swastika Society, which causes much more

trust, they appear to be true, but include mainly Chinese soldiers who died in the defense of Nanjing. It should be noted that the data of the Society of the Red Swastika contain very few references to buried women and children, on the mass destruction of which (albeit without specific statistics) all official versions insist. The calculation of the number of victims of mass tragedies during the war is associated with many specific difficulties: for example, the identification of the dead takes a long time, while sanitary conditions (prevention of epidemics, etc.) require the speedy burial of corpses?<sup>75</sup>.

On the whole, one can agree with these conclusions, but with one caveat. The total number of victims of the Nanking massacre, as well as the storming of Nanking, can be estimated approximately equal to the number of persons buried by the Red Swastika Society, i.e. 43.1 thousand people. As for the Chongshantang society, there are doubts that they buried anyone at all.

However, contrary to the opinion of V.E. Molodyakov and a number of Japanese revisionist historians, among the dead in Nanking, civilians prevailed, not military personnel of the Kuomintang army. After all, the assault on Nanjing, in contrast to the three-month siege of Shanghai, lasted only 4 days (from December 10 to 13). At the same time, the main part of the Chinese garrison successfully retreated behind the Yangtze even before the assault began. Only 2,000 soldiers were taken prisoner. Even taking into account the fact that the Japanese did not capture some of the unarmed soldiers who fell into their hands, but killed them, the number of victims among Chinese soldiers could hardly reach 40 thousand people.

In total, as we remember, in 1937 the Kuomintang troops lost 366,382 people killed and wounded. In total, during the Japanese-Chinese war, the total losses in killed and wounded amounted to 3117 thousand people, including 1797 thousand wounded and 1320 thousand killed. If we assume that approximately the same proportion between the dead and the wounded was maintained in each year of the war, then in 1937 the Chinese losses in killed should have been 156 thousand people. Taking into account that the main battles took place in 1937 in the Shanghai region, and the losses of the Chinese killed in the defense of Nanjing could be 20 times less than in the defense of Shanghai, and that, in addition, the Kuomintang troops suffered some losses in 1937 also in Northern and Central China (at least 10%), the loss of those killed in Nanjing could amount to 6-7 thousand people. Accordingly, in the city, Japanese soldiers who burst into it were killed, and 36-37 thousand civilians fell victim to artillery shelling, which is about 8 times less than the traditional estimate of 300 thousand dead. Probably common

226 Molodyakov V.E., Molodyakova E.B., Bagdasarova S.B. History of Japan. XX century. Moscow: IV RAN; Kraft+, 2007, p. 145.

the number of Chinese civilians killed in the course of hostilities is unlikely to significantly exceed 1 million people during the entire war.

Japanese losses in China in 1937 amounted to 70 thousand killed and wounded?<sup>77</sup>. The ratio of casualties killed and wounded between the Kuomintang and Japanese troops in 1937 was 5.2:1. It can be assumed that due to the much lower absolute value of combat losses than China's, the proportion of those killed in Japanese losses was lower than in Chinese losses, and could approach the classical ratio between the number of wounded and the number of killed - 3:1. Then the number

Japanese soldiers killed in 1937 can be estimated at 17.5 thousand people, and the ratio of Chinese and Japanese losses killed is 8.9: 1, which is close to the ratio of losses killed between the Wehrmacht and the Red Army.

That the ratio of casualties between the wounded and killed in the Japanese army in the Chinese theater of operations was close to 3: 1 is proved by the available Japanese data on losses in individual battles. So, in the battles near Shanghai in January - February 1932, the Japanese army lost 738 killed and 2257 wounded (3.1: 1 ratio), during the fighting in Guangdong in October 1938 - 173 killed and 493 wounded (2.8: 1). 1), in the Wuhan operation (June - November 1938), Japanese losses amounted to about 9.5 thousand killed and died from wounds and about 26 thousand wounded (2.7: 1, and with the exception of those who died from wounds from among those killed - not less than 3:1) 228.

The total losses of the Chinese armed forces, Kuomintang and Communist, killed and died of wounds, can be estimated at 1166 thousand people, and with losses among those who died in captivity and collaborationist formations - at 1266 thousand people. It is much more difficult to estimate the number of Chinese military personnel who died from disease. It, of course, was equally significant both among the Kuomintang and Communist, and among the collaborationist troops, and certainly many times higher than the number of those who died from wounds. However, accurate statistics of military personnel who died of disease were hardly kept at all, since they were placed in civilian hospitals. We estimate the number of deaths from wounds in the ranks of the Chinese anti-Japanese armies at 153,000. Chinese researcher Ho Ping-ti determines the number of deaths from diseases at 1.5 million people??. It is impossible to assess the degree of reliability of the estimate of 1.5 million people, but in the absence of another, we accept it. The total loss of the Chinese army in the dead, we take 2.8 million people. Purely conditionally, we will accept that half of the losses of those who died from diseases are accounted for by anti-Japanese, and half by pro-Japanese Chinese formations.

The number of civilians killed by the Japanese army, Chinese sources, as we have seen, seriously exaggerate. Losses

227 Kuwata E., Maehara T. Nihon no senso (Wars of Japan). Tokyo: Hara shobo, 1976. Data from this source provided to me by G.B. Brylevsky, to whom I express my sincere gratitude.

228 But Rtd-I. Zoe op Fe RoruanNop oYo Sypa, 1368-1953. yashiade: Naguaga Oshkhegzu Prez\$, 1959.

229 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 309.

We conditionally estimate the Chinese civilian population during the hostilities at 1 million people.

It should be kept in mind that between 1937 and 1945, tens of millions of Chinese died of starvation and disease. However, these deaths were a common reality in China throughout the first half of the 20th century. The situation was aggravated by the civil war that had raged in the country since the early 1920s. There is no objective evidence that in 1937-1945 mortality from famine and epidemics increased, just as there are no



data, what was the absolute size of mortality from these factors in the pre-war, and in the post-war years, when the civil war resumed.

We estimate the total losses of China in 1937-1945 in killed and dead at 3.8 million people, of which 2.8 million people were missing.

#### Losses of Mongolia

During the Soviet-Japanese War, the losses of the Mongolian troops fighting on the side of the Red Army amounted, according to official

according to Russian data, 72 killed and 125 wounded.

#### Japanese losses

According to the American researcher John Dower, the losses of the Japanese army amounted to 2803 killed and died from wounds in French Indochina, in battles against the Americans - 485,717, in battles against the British and Dutch - 208,026, in battles against the Australians - 199,511, in battles against the Red Army in August - September 1945 - 7483 killed and died from wounds, in other overseas territories - 23 388, in the territory of Japan proper - 10 543. Fleet losses in 1941-1945 amounted to 414 879 killed and died from wounds. J. Dauer estimates the losses of the Japanese army in China in 1937-1941 at 185,647 killed and died from wounds, and in 1942-1945 - at 202,958 dead? It seems to us that there is some error in Dauer's data here. The fact is that Chinese losses in killed and wounded in 1937-1941 amounted to 2398.9 thousand people, and in 1942-1945 - only 719 thousand people. Thus, Chinese losses in killed and wounded in 1942-1945 amounted to only 30.0% of their losses in 1937-1941, while Japanese losses in China in 1942-1945 amounted to 109.3% of losses in 1937. -1941. Then we will have to admit that in relation to one killed or wounded Chinese, Japanese losses in killed increased by 3.6 times in 1942-1945, which seems absolutely incredible. The quality of the Chinese army after 1941 could not have improved so significantly, given that the most experienced cadres were knocked out in 1937-1941.

230 Rozheg/ovp I'. Mage M Totz + Megsu. R; 297-299.

231 Hattori Takushiro . Japan in the war 1941-1945. Per. from Japanese. St. Petersburg: Polygon, 2000, p. 862.

Japanese casualties?3?

Ground Gazhlansky Types of  
losses about the head of the Navy about  
Total troops

Killed 1439 101 419710 658 595 2517 406

and missing  
Disabled

people 85620 8895 — 94 515  
and terminally ill  
Total 1524

721 428 605 658 595 2611921

This estimate includes 170,000 civilian casualties who died or died after the end of the war in Manchuria, China and Korea, 165,000 died on Okinawa, and 24,000 died after the end of the war in Japan itself, mainly way from hunger. As can be understood, the category of killed and missing servicemen includes those who died from wounds and diseases, but does not include those who died in Soviet captivity.

In the future, more careful calculations made it possible to increase the number of dead Japanese military personnel, including those who died in Soviet captivity.

The distribution of Japanese casualties by service and theater of operations, according to an official estimate made in 1964, was as follows: 233

Losses of the Japanese armed forces by the dead in the main theaters of operations  
(China - 1937-1945, other theaters - 1941-1945)

232 Kuwata E., Maehara T. Nihon no senso (Wars of Japan). In all likelihood, this number includes 81,090 people who died awaiting repatriation after the surrender of Japan, in theaters occupied by the troops of the Western Allies and national China (this number does not include prisoners who died in the USSR-occupied areas of Manchuria, Korea, South Sakhalin and Kuril) (Verog5 oE Cepega1 MacAtvlig MacAg og shJarap: TVe OssiraNotp: MPCagu rBaze. \Vo1. 1, Zarretep {. M/asV.: 1.5. Coyerpten rgtip Oyose 1966 P. 130, pcs. 36). It should be emphasized that the losses of the Japanese armed forces also include civilian employees, who are mainly employed in the supply service.

233 Ibid.

Theaters of operations Army Navy Total

China (including Hong Kong, but 435,600 20,100 455,700 without Manchuria) |  
Manchuria (Manchukuo-[0)  
45,900,800 46,700 Japan proper 58,100 45,800 103,900

Ogasawara Islands (Bonin) 2700 12 500 | 15,200 (main island - Iwo Jima)

Okinawa Island 50 600 & 500 | 62,100 Area near Okinawa  
10,000 27,300

Taiwan 28,500 10,600 | 39 100 South  
Korea 9700 6200 15 900 North Korea  
9900 700 10 600 Sakhalin, Kuril and  
Aleutian Islands 8200 3200 11 400 Islands

Islands of the central part 151400 247 200 Tikhov Oksana

Philippines 377,500 121,100 | 498 600 French  
Indochina 7900 4500 | 12400 Thailand (Siam) 6900  
100 7000 Burma 163 000 1500 | 164  
500 Malaya and Singapore 8500 2900  
11 400 Andaman and Nicobar 900 1500 | 2400  
islands

Sumatra 2700 50 | 3200 Java  
2700 3800 6500 Lesser  
Sunda Islands 51800 1200 | 53,000 Borneo 11,300 6,700  
18,000 Celebes 4,000 5,500  
Moluccas 2,600 1,800  
4,400 New Guinea 15,200 127,600 Bismarck  
Islands 10,800 30,500 Solomon  
Islands 63,200 \$25,000 8,200 Died in  
Soviet captivity 400 52,700 Total 473,800 | 2121000

It should be noted that according to clarifications made between 1964 and 1976, during the battle on Iwo Jima (Ogasawara Islands), 4,700 people died more - 12,850 in the army and 7,050 people on

fleet. According to the same data, not 62,100, but 65,000 servicemen died in Okinawa. The only campaign for which official Japanese data on the number of wounded are given is the battles on Iwo Jima - 736 in the army and 297 in the navy, for a total of 1033 people? There is also a higher estimate of the number of Japanese soldiers killed on Iwo Jima - about 22 thousand people. So far, only about 8,700 bodies have been found, and about 13,000 more burials are expected to be found. The Japanese government is going to allow civilian searchers to search for the remains of the dead on Iwo Jima. So far, only military facilities are located on the island, and civilians are not allowed to enter there?3?. With these higher estimates, assuming an estimate of 19,900 deaths on the Ogasawara Islands, the total number of Japanese military deaths can be estimated at 2,128,600. The Americans and their allies captured 41,000 Japanese prisoners before surrendering?35.

In addition, in 1938, during the battles near Lake Khasan against the Red Army, the Japanese lost 526 killed and died from wounds and 914 wounded. In 1939, during a much larger clash with Soviet troops in the region of the Khalkhin Gol River (according to Japanese terminology - the Nomongan Incident), Japanese losses in May-July amounted to 159 killed, 119 wounded, 12 missing, and in August - early September - 7696 killed, 8647 wounded and 1021 missing?37. Thus, the total number of Japanese dead during the fighting on

Khalkhin Gol, taking into account the fact that 160 Japanese and 44 Manchu soldiers returned from Soviet captivity, can be estimated at 8684 people. However, out of the 10,301 names carved on the monument, 9471 of the 10,301 names carved on the monument, were those who fell during the Nomongan Incident " It can be assumed that the difference of 813 people refers to those who died from wounds, diseases and other causes.

The losses of Soviet troops in the battles near Khasan amounted to 759 killed, 100 died from wounds and diseases, 6 people died as a result of accidents and 95 missing, and in total - 960 dead, 2752 wounded and 527 sick. "Soviet irretrievable losses were more than Japanese

234 Yomiuri, 2010, 27 December. Reported by G.B. Brylevsky. 235 Uralnis B.Ts. Population. P. 203. 236 Kuwata E., Maehara T. Nihon no senso.

237 Sooh At O. MotopVap. Jarapadat\$E Viz\$a, 1939. \o1. 1-2. Zfapyuyuta ChR 1985. R 914.

238 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 1773, pl. 81.

239 BaaVag V. Egotsh moyA rolmeg 10 Solme{ for 1ePsche: H1\$fogu oYo MopdoNa. Chshuetziu oYo SattaAde Prez\$. 1999. R 389; Sooh Mush PR. MotopVap. RR 930-933; Khalkhin Gol. Losses // Author's project of Igor Sechenov Khalkhin-Gol (BER://igilig.rgraka1.ga/4.291.V&ta]).

1.8 times.

The losses of the Red Army during the fighting on the Khalkhin-Gol River amounted to 6472 killed, 1152 died from wounds, 8 died from diseases, 2028 people were missing, and 43 people died as a result of accidents. Taking into account the fact that 89 Red Army soldiers returned from Japanese captivity, the total losses of Soviet troops in killed and dead can be estimated at 9614 people. This is 1.015 times more than the losses of the Japanese-Manchurian troops in the dead and dead. In addition, during the fighting at Khalkhin Gol, the allied Red Army Mongolian troops lost, according to official figures published in November 1939, 165 killed and 401 wounded. However, according to later studies by the Mongolian historian Tamir Ganbold, the losses of the Mongolian army amounted to 895 people, of which 234 people were killed and died. Of this number, 1 Mongol soldier died in Japanese captivity?®. Taking into account the irretrievable losses of the Soviet-Mongolian and Japanese-Manchu troops, the ratio turns out to be 1.04:1.

The losses of the Soviet troops at Khalkhin Gol were 15,251 wounded, and at least 2,287 sick, of which 701 were treated on the territory of the Trans-Baikal Military District, and the vast majority of the rest - on the territory of Mongolia 7 ".

We do not include the losses of the Japanese in the battles of Khasan and Khalkhin Gol in the losses during the Second World War in the same way that we do not include

the losses of the Red Army in these battles in the losses in World War II.

In total, the Japanese armed forces at the time of surrender numbered 6983 thousand people in 154 divisions and 136 brigades of the ground army and 20 formations of the Navy. Of this number, 3532 thousand people were in the territory of the Japanese Islands proper. In addition, outside of Japan, there were about 3 million Japanese civilians in theaters of operations??".

Japan officially believes that approximately 220 thousand Japanese, both military and civilians, became victims of the Soviet invasion in August - September 1945? Probably, this may include not only the Japanese, but also the Chinese, Manchus, Koreans and representatives of other nationalities who served in the Japanese armed forces and either died in battles with the Red Army or died in Soviet captivity. At the beginning of 1949, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs registered 590,830 Japanese prisoners of war. Of this number, 440,387 people were repatriated by that time, 6,357 people were recognized as civilian prisoners, 52,165 people died, and 91 remained in prisoner of war camps.

240 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 179, tab. 88; Smirnov E.I. War and military medicine 1939-1945. 2nd ed. M.: Medicine, 1979. S. 61-62.

241 Verog \$ oYOR Sepega1! Masag og. Masag og sh] arap: Tre Ossira Note: MPKagu rBaze. \o1. 1, Zarretegue. M/a\$W.: 0.5. Souegitep rgshto Oyose, 1966. P. 117.

242 Hara T., Yasuoka A. Nihon Rikukaigun Jiten (Dictionary of the Japanese Army and Navy). Tokyo, 2003. Reported by G.B. Brylevsky.

243 Prisoners of war, 1939-1956. S. 176.

276 people. 49 Japanese were convicted by military tribunals, 427 were sent to prisons and the Gulag, 56 fled, and another 113 people left for other reasons? The figure of 52,165 dead prisoners of war is close to the official Japanese figure of 52,700 servicemen who died in Soviet captivity. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Japanese prisoners of war remained in Soviet camps until 1956, and it is hard to believe that only 535 Japanese died in 7 years. According to official Soviet data, 609,448 Japanese were captured, of which 61,855 people died. It is possible that the difference in 18,618 prisoners and 9,690 dead was formed at the expense of civilian prisoners. It is also possible that the difference was nevertheless formed due to the actual Japanese prisoners of war. In a certificate prepared by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in October 1956, which first spoke about 609,448 Japanese prisoners of war and that 61,855 of them died, it was specifically noted that "for Japanese prisoners of war repatriated directly at the fronts, before they were brought to the territory of the USSR , as well as for those who died at the front assembly points, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs does not have personal lists "28. It can be assumed that the difference in the figures for 1949 and 1956 was formed due to the repatriated and those who died directly at the fronts, even before the prisoners entered the NKVD system. It is possible that these 9690 Japanese prisoners of war who died directly at the front are included in the Japanese official losses among those who died during the Soviet invasion of Manchuria. For other nationalities

served in the Japanese army (Chinese, Koreans, etc.), there is no discrepancy in the number of prisoners between the documents of 1949 and 1956, and in the number of those who died in captivity there is a slight discrepancy only for the Chinese (respectively 135 and 138 people). Therefore, we will give data on the death rate of prisoners based on materials from 1956:

Of the 16,150 Chinese, 138 died.

Out of 10,312 Koreans, 71 died.

Out of 3633 Mongols, 4 people died.

Out of 5 Buryats, 1 person died.

486 Manchus, 58 Russians and 2 Tungus were liberated directly on the fronts.  
None of them died in captivity.

According to Japanese official figures, 393,367 civilian casualties during the American air raids, including approximately 210,000 victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and 97,031 deaths during the bombing of Tokyo with conventional bombs. About 150,000 more civilians died or committed suicide during the fighting in Okinawa, and 10,000 on the island of Saipan from the Northern Mariana Islands?<sup>7</sup>. There is another assessment of the victims among the Japanese

244 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 517, tab.  
204. 245 Prisoners of war, 1939-1956. pp. 181-182. 246  
Rozheg/ovp I'. Mag Mot Megsu. R; 297-299.

247 CoaEneq MicBea! ... U'a!Page an agte con1c{5: a for d\$!sa! geRegepse {o satsamu ap4 o Teg Jadogez,  
1618-1991. Jherson, MS: Msayapa & Sotshrapu, 1992, pp. 922, 933.

civilian population during the fighting in Saipan and Okinawa - respectively 22 thousand and 77 thousand dead? It should be noted that many Japanese civilians, following the example of the military, committed collective suicide in order not to be captured by the enemy. It is likely that the number of civilian casualties in Okinawa and Saipan is still closer to 100 thousand, and not to 160 thousand people, or even 180 thousand, according to Japanese official data. With adjustments made, we estimate the total number of civilian casualties in Japan, including 393,400 bombing victims, 100,000 casualties in Okinawa and Saipan, 24,000 deaths in mainland Japan, and 170,000 dead and missing in Manchuria, China and Korea, 687.4 thousand people.

Japan held about 100,000 American prisoners, captured mainly in the Philippines. Java also held about 300,000 military and civilian prisoners. All of them were supposed to be destroyed in the event of an American invasion. This invasion was supposed at the end of October 1945. At the same time, American generals assumed that during the first month of fighting on the Japanese islands, American losses would amount to 500-800 thousand people killed and wounded, and the level of losses remained the same in each subsequent month until the cessation of Japanese resistance. At the same time, Japanese losses were estimated at 1.5-4 times more than American ones.

In the event of a landing, atomic bombs would be used in tactical support for the landing, against large concentrations of Japanese troops. In September - October 1945, the production of atomic bombs was supposed to be 3-4 bombs per month, and by December it would have reached 7 bombs per month. By the end of October, when it was supposed to start landing on the Japanese islands, at least 7 atomic bombs should have been at the disposal of the American armed forces? ° °.

We estimate Japan's total losses in World War II at 2,816,000 dead, of which 2,128,600 were killed or died by the armed forces.

## Losses of Korea

Korea was a Japanese colony. Koreans were not drafted into the combat units of the Japanese army due to unreliability, but tens of thousands of them served in the auxiliary rear units. But Koreans were widely involved in forced labor in the interests of the Japanese army and the military industry. In total, they were involved in forced labor according to A.S. Breckman 5.4 million Koreans. How many of them died is not known. American explorer R.J. Rummel

248 Gee Vgise . "Magsyta Ogaerz: Te Otshcho] A Zfogu oYo Moya \ UMag P". Umsopa (Vii\$b Comattia): Sgomt Rabicanon\$, 1995, PP x!-xsh, 488-492, 563-578.

249 GesPe Sgoue\$, "Mom Ts Sap Ve Tola: Tee \$ogu oE ne Maprayap Projes", MU 1962. R. 309-310.

250 Bhaskman, Arno]Aa C. Te Ofeg Magetegoa: {Be Offo1A sfogu oE Te Tokuo M/ag Sites 'Tna15. Memg Wark:

MASHat Moggom/apa So., 1987. R. 86-87.

estimates the number of victims at 378 thousand people, although he stipulates that his estimate is rough, and does not give the grounds on which it was made. Rummel cites Brackman's study, suggesting that 60,000 out of 670,000 Koreans who were brought there died in Japan, even though Koreans were treated better than people from other countries?". Assuming that in Manchuria and Korea, the death rate of Koreans was higher, but lower than the death rate among workers of other nationalities, Rummel makes the maximum estimate of 810 thousand dead Koreans, the minimum - 270 thousand, and considers the average estimate of 378 thousand people closest to reality ????. However, the numbers Breckman also, in fact, are estimates, and he does not give the total number of Korean dead. Werner Gruhl estimates the number of Koreans killed in forced labor at 483 thousand people. Another 50 thousand Koreans, in his opinion, died in auxiliary service in the Japanese army ". John W. Dower believes that up to 10 thousand Koreans could have died in the atomic bombing of Nagasaki?"".

Meanwhile, all these statements are opposed by a study of South Korean demographers - the impact of the war on both the birth rate and the death rate among

Koreans, and not only those who lived in Korea, but also those who ended up in Japan or Manchuria. At the same time, a Korean source testifies that 6369 Koreans were killed and died in the Japanese armed forces. In addition, 8158 Korean civilians attached to the Japanese army died and died? These figures seem to us to be the most realistic figures for Korean casualties.

Korean troops also fought on the side of the Anti-Hitler coalition. The Korean Liberation Army was under the command of Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese National Army. It was established in September 1941 in the temporary military capital of national China, Chongqing, and was subordinate to the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, President Kim Gu. The KLA was commanded by General Ji Cheng Chen and the chief of staff was General Lee Bum-suk. The KLA was replenished both by deserters from the Japanese army and by Korean emigrants in China. As a result, the number of KLA officers increased from 30 in 1941 to 1,000 in 1945, and the number of personnel from 1,000 to 30,000. The KLA fought both in China and on the Burma front. After the Japanese surrender, the KLA became the basis of the army of the Republic of Korea (South

251 A. / Aitte /. ZbaizYasz oÿ aetoslae: Sepos14e apa Ma\$\$ Migaeg eshtse 1900. Svarfeg 9:

252 Cricket Erpeg . Gtrepa| Jarap'5 Mpa\UMag Tuo, 1931-1945. Pissayamau (M.): Tranzasjohn Ri BisBears, 2010. P. 20, {abh.

253 Rozheg/ovp l'. Magician MITo\c+ Megsu. R. 47

254 Ta! Naip Kuop. RethodgarVu oYo Kogea. 5th|1 Manop! Otumsyu Pres5. 1977 (Vlr://ep.mPare a.ogd/mYAKIMGOTA\\_Mag P\_saziaShez#epapoe Kogea).

255 See: PbaepdztVa sagozapua . Tie sh9osta \Var: TbaPapa 2195 \$ Rhapse. ZagaKadee Pres\$, 2002.

Korea). There are no data on her losses, but given that she played only an auxiliary role in the hostilities, it is unlikely that the number of dead exceeded 1 thousand people.

In addition to the KLA, the Korean Volunteer Army, formed in Chinese Communist-controlled Yanan in 1939, led by one of the leaders of the Korean Communists, fought the Japanese. It numbered no more than a hundred people and had a purely symbolic meaning. It was only in 1945 that the number of KDA increased to 1,000 people due to deserters from the Japanese army. The KDA did not take part in the hostilities and had practically no losses. After the Japanese surrender, the KDA became part of the Korean People's Army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea).

Thus, the total losses of Korea in World War II can be estimated at 15.5 thousand people, of which 7.4 thousand fell to the share of the military, of which 6.4 thousand died on the Japanese side, and 1 thousand - on side of the anti-Hitler coalition.



## Losses of Thailand (Siam)

Japan's only ally in World War II was Thailand (Siam). On November 28, 1940, he presented the French government with a demand for the cession of a large territory of French Indochina to him. After the refusal of France, hostilities began, reaching their maximum intensity in January 1941. From France, 12 thousand soldiers of the French army and 38 thousand soldiers of the colonial troops participated in the battles. The Thai army numbered 60 thousand people. Neither side achieved decisive success. On January 29, 1941, an armistice was signed. On March 11, 1941, a peace treaty was concluded with Japanese mediation. Under Japanese pressure, France was forced to cede 69 thousand square meters to Thailand. km of the territory of modern Laos and Cambodia. French losses were 321 killed or wounded, 178 missing, 222 captured. Thai troops lost 108 killed and died of wounds, 307 wounded and 21 captured.

On December 8, 1941, Japanese troops suddenly invaded Thailand under the pretext of protecting it from the British. In reality, Tokyo wanted to secure a springboard for strikes against British Malaya and Burma. Thai troops put up only minor resistance, which ended on the same day on the orders of the Thai dictator Marshal Pibun Songgram, who concluded an alliance treaty with Japan on December 25. In the fighting on December 8, 180 Thai soldiers were killed. On January 25, 1942, after the Anglo-American bombing of Bangkok, Thailand declared war on England and the United States. Thai troops, together with the Japanese, fought against British and Chinese troops in Burma, which ended by the end of May 1942. In 1943, some border areas of Malaysia and Burma were transferred to Thailand. During the fighting in

256 Migazshta ET. Tie ComtetogaNue Srpagaser oYo 'Tba1 N1z {podgarVu: Te 1942-43 'Tba! MPKagu Satra19t sh {Fe 5bap Z{aye\$ Pep1e4 a\$ a 5fogu oYo Mayopa| For]wahNop apa Te VezogaNop oh! Ta!

sh4erep4epse // Modegp Az1ap Ea 1e\$, 2006, vol. 40, p. 4.R. 1057.

Burma killed 150 Thai troops. After this, the Thai army no longer took an active part in the hostilities. Up until the end of the war, 5,229 Thai soldiers died of disease, mostly malaria? 7. The total losses of the Thai army in World War II amounted to 5667 people. The losses of the civilian population from the Anglo-American bombardments, mainly in 1944-1945, are estimated at about 2 thousand people? ° 8.

## Burmese losses

Burma's losses in World War II consist of the losses of the Burmese National Army, which fought on the side of the Japanese, and civilian casualties. The BNA was formed in Siam (Thailand) by one of the leaders of the Burmese national movement, the general secretary of the Our Burma Union, the founder of the People's Revolutionary Party of Burma and the Communist Party of Burma, General Aung San.

The army was formed on 28 December 1941 as the Burmese Independence Army. It consisted of 227 Burmese and 74 Japanese. Some Burmese were descendants of emigrants to Siam and no longer spoke Burmese. The ABN was used as a reconnaissance and sabotage group during the Japanese invasion of Burma. By the time the Japanese occupied Rangoon on March 8, 1942, the ABN numbered 12 thousand people, and did it reach its maximum strength of 18 thousand by May 1942? Its fighters were mostly armed with British captured weapons. Basically, they waged a guerrilla war against the British troops. The only major battle fought by Burmese units was at Shwedaung in South Burma. There, the ABN, with a force of 1,300 men, attempted to block the retreat of the British 7th Armored Brigade. However, the British were able to break through, losing 10 tanks, 2 guns, 300 vehicles and over 350 killed and wounded. The Burmese also suffered heavy losses - 60 killed, 300 wounded, 60 captured and 350 deserters. Both Japanese liaison officers at the ABN were also killed. The inexperience of the Burmese and their lack of heavy weapons led to heavy losses? ABN fighters and unorganized Burmese gangs also committed war crimes against the Karen ethnic minority and Indian refugees. After the end of the active phase of hostilities in Burma in July 1942, the ABN was disbanded and instead the Burma Defense Army was formed with only 3 thousand people. The Japanese did not like the attempts of the ABN to establish their power in a number of

257 Veupola\$ E.V. Aÿrta® oYo AShapse: Te Magnshte Gedasu sh TBa1-Jarapeze Vejiops // Jochgpa! oYo Zoi {Tea\$ Az1ap For 01e\$, beats}. 21, p 1, Mags 1990. P 72.

258 Va; SysurveVer; Nagreg Type. Forgdoep Arpue\$. Hop4op: Repolish, 2005. P 170.

259 APep, \$101. Wigta: Te Gopdezo Mag 194145. topaop: J.M. Bepeo apa \$opz, 1984. R. 62-63.

260 XuaE[eg Mlsvae! . U'arEage apa Artea Connya1s {5- A Z{aizyasa!1 VeRegepse {o SasiaTsu apa O{er E1doges, 1500-2000. Jfeetson (MS): Ms Rayapa, 2p4 E4. 2002. R. 556.

localities in Burma. In August 1943, the Japanese declared the independence of Burma. One of the leaders of the national movement of Burma, Ba Mo, became the head of government, and Aung San became the minister of defense. He was promoted to major general in the Japanese army and appointed commander in chief of the Burmese National Army (as the Burmese Defense Army became known). The Japanese occupying forces remained in real control of Burma, and Aung San doubted that the Japanese would ever grant true independence to the Burmese. Most importantly, in August 1943 there was no longer any doubt that Japan would lose the war. Therefore, Aung San established links with the British command, using the leadership of the Communist Party of Burma. In 1944, the 11,000th BNA took only a minor part in the battles with the British. On March 27, 1945, the BNA revolted against the Japanese and linked up with British troops. Renamed the Patriotic Forces of Burma, it helped the British clear the Japanese from southern Burma. The losses of the BNA during the war, mainly in battles against the British forces, amounted, in all likelihood, to no more than 1 thousand people.

dead, of which during the struggle against the Japanese in March - August 1945, there are hardly more than 200 people. Burmese civilian casualties from Japanese war crimes, starvation and forced labor are estimated by Michael Clodfelter at 250,000, including 110,000 Burmese, 100,000 Indians and 40,000 Chinese?'. Werner Gruhl estimates the civilian casualties of the Philippines as a result of the Japanese occupation at 170 thousand people??. It should be emphasized that all of the above estimates of civilian casualties in Burma are not based on current statistics on the number of deaths, which simply were not available, nor on estimates of data from pre-war and post-war censuses, since no censuses were conducted in Burma from the early 30s until 1973 years, and many materials from previous censuses were destroyed during the Japanese occupation. Therefore, the estimates are purely conditional. It should be noted that before the war Burma was an exporter of rice, and there was no famine there, so those who died of starvation in wartime must be attributed to war losses. We accept the lowest estimate of Burma's civilian casualties at 170,000 people, and together with the losses of the army, at 1,771,000 people. This estimate is also quite arbitrary, and the actual number of those killed and dead may be much higher or lower than it.

#### Losses of French Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos)

In September 1940, Japanese troops received permission from the French colonial administration to access Ronkin Bay through French Indochina. The purpose of the operation was to cut the Sino-Vietnamese road, along which Chiang Kai-shek's troops were supplied. September 22, 1940 Japanese troops

261 Sgash Megpeg. Pprepa! Jarap'; uyuna Mag Tio, 1931-1945. Piscaomaw (no. ]): TranzasNop Pu sterges, 2010. P. 20, file.

262 agae, -] eap-ryshre. paosbshe 1945-1954: 1e sosheme shsha (VER://mgilig.ne Amgag.sott/e-geutse/Chos1et\$LpdosMte/sottsezhe/sotseh{e01.Vt).

invaded Indochina and tried to occupy points not covered by the agreement, but met with resistance from the French colonial troops and the Foreign Legion. The fighting continued until September 26 and ended with the landing of Japanese troops near Haiphong. Under the new agreement, Japanese troops remained in Indochina until the end of the war, placing small garrisons in Haiphong, Hanoi and some other cities in Vietnam. The losses of the French colonial troops, as well as the civilian population of Haiphong, subjected to Japanese bombardment, amounted to about 900 people. On August 1, 1941, the Japanese also occupied Saigon. At the same time, 8 thousand Japanese soldiers entered Cambodia.

The second Japanese invasion of Indochina took place in March 1945. This time, his goal was to control the entire territory of Indochina by declaring the formal independence of the Vietnamese Empire and the kingdoms of Laos and Cambodia. The Japanese feared that Allied troops might land in Indochina, since after the liberation of France and the fall of the pro-German Vichy government, the French governor of Indochina, Admiral Jean Decaux, recognized the authority

provisional French government of General de Gaulle. On March 9, 1945, the Japanese issued an ultimatum to disarm the French troops. In Saigon, two French generals and many officers were killed by the Japanese after refusing to sign a surrender. However, the French garrisons in the interior of Indochina were able to organize resistance. 5,700 men, mostly from the Foreign Legion, were able to fight their way through the Japanese positions into Chinese territory. French and British commandos were transferred to Indochina, who began a guerrilla war with the support of the local population. But by the time of the Japanese surrender, the clashes between the Japanese and the partisans had not yet acquired a large-scale character. After the Japanese surrender, Emperor Bao Dai of Vietnam abdicated on August 25, and power in Hanoi was transferred by the Japanese to the communist Viet Minh movement on August 19, 1945. In the province of Thai Nguyen, they refused to capitulate and entered into battles with the partisans, which lasted from 20 to 25 August. The Japanese surrendered only on 26 August. In the battles in March and during the massacre arranged by the Japanese, 2129 Frenchmen and other Europeans, mainly military men, were killed. Local partisans, numbering up to 10 thousand people, suffered some losses in battles with Japanese troops, but these losses are unlikely to exceed several hundred people.

The number of victims of the civilian population of Indochina is estimated by modern researchers from 1 million?" to 1.5 million people. "These

263 Romeg JoVp \\. M'ag M toche Megsu. R. 297.

264 Cranny Magneg. Pprena! jLarap'; wona Mag To, 1931-1945. R. 20, 1st.

265 IMOVE Glapa SSHNapa . Eatme apa Rea sh Ossierled Cgeese, 1941-1944 // Sapa Ch1ap] ochgpa1 OE H1\$oty, 2007, MJashcheg. YeshaAgase\$.sot. April 11, 2011. LR://VpCh4agies.com/r/atiez/u1 4a3686/\$ 3\_42/a1 p29427588)/. This article is a review of the book: H10on19och, UM1o]e Ya Rushshe ap Pea{ w Ossirlea Steese, 1941-1944. SattiAde 5a4ez sh Porshainop, Esopotu ap Zoslefu sh Razyo Tite. Satchade, Satmade Oshhuer\$Tsu Prez\$, 2006.

the figures are not based on anything and are based only on declarations, in particular, on the assertion of the leader of the Viet Minh, Ho Chi Minh, who declared in the declaration of independence of Vietnam on September 2, 1945, that as a result of cruel exploitation by the Japanese and hunger, the peoples of Indochina lost 2 million Human. In fact, the famine that lasted in North Vietnam from October 1944 to May 1945 was due to crop failure caused by drought and floods and the subsequent cold winter, and not to war, and its casualties can hardly be attributed to military losses. Moreover, famine happened in Vietnam before the war. It must be said that there is also a lower estimate of the number of victims - 400 thousand people, which, however, like the upper estimate of 2 million people, is not based on any current statistics or census data. The 400,000 figure came from a May 1945 request from the government in Hanoi to the governors of twenty northern provinces in Vietnam to report how many people died of starvation. The governors reported that 380,000 people died directly from starvation, and another 20,000 from related diseases. Undoubtedly, the governors were interested in exaggerating rather than downplaying the number of victims, since the volume of assistance directly depended on this.

which they expected to receive. The French military, probably believing that after Ho Chi Minh's statement about 2 million victims, it would be undignified to talk about 400 thousand, in October 1945 they reported about half a million victims of famine. Former governor Jean Decaux, in his memoirs written in 1949, reported on a million victims in order to emphasize the severity of his mission. The current authors of estimates of 1 and 1.5 million starved to death are simply taking average estimates between all available in the literature. It is curious that all the authors of the existing figures, from the minimum to the maximum, were only interested in exaggerating the number of victims. Undoubtedly, the lowest estimate of 400 thousand dead is closer to the truth, but it is also likely to be significantly overestimated. This is indicated by the fact that among the victims of the famine, according to the reports of the governors, those who died from exhaustion accounted for 95%, while those who died from diseases - only 5%. Meanwhile, in cases where the famine is relatively well documented, in particular due to the presence of representatives of the International Red Cross in the disaster area, the vast majority of deaths are most often caused not by exhaustion itself (dystrophy), but by infectious diseases, immunity to which is weakened by prolonged malnutrition. So it was, for example, during the famine in Greece in the winter of 1941/42?

6. Given that there are no reports of mass epidemics in Vietnam in 1940, the number of deaths as a result of the famine could not have been particularly high. If the figure of 20,000 who died from diseases in the governor's reports is close to reality, then the total number of deaths due to starvation, including victims of exhaustion, hardly exceeded 100,000 people.

#### Philippine casualties

266 Opcea Z{aez Z(a{e Perth. Vigeam oE Eaz{e Azap ap Ras1Yas Ayonash. Osboreg 29, 2010. Vaskoipa Moe: RYSHrshez // VER://orligi.bafe.dou/g/ra/e:/ 5dt/2 794 Nni

According to the US State Department, about 1 million people died in the Philippines during the war years, mainly from famine and disease caused by the Japanese occupation? ° ". This figure also includes the casualties of hostilities, in particular the American bombing of Manila in the last months of the war, the victims of the guerrilla war in the Philippines against the Japanese, and the victims of Japanese war crimes. According to American estimates, in February 1945, Japanese troops, before leaving Manila, massacred Filipinos in the city and killed 90-100 thousand people. Considering that the number of Japanese troops involved in the massacre was only 10 thousand people, the above figures seem to be significantly exaggerated, and the true number of victims of the massacre is unlikely to exceed the same 10 thousand people. Since almost all of the 10 thousand Japanese marines, led by Admiral Sanji Iwabuchi, either died in battle or committed suicide, there were almost no witnesses to the massacre. Another Japanese war crime in the Philippines was the so-called Baatan death march. After the capitulation of American and Filipino troops on the Baatan Peninsula on April 9, 1942, prisoners of war in the amount of 67,000 Filipinos, 1,000 Chinese soldiers living in the Philippines and 11,796 Americans were forced to make a 100-kilometer march through the mud to the POW camp. During the march, thousands of prisoners died of exhaustion, wounds, dehydration, or were shot by guards because they could not go further. The exact number of victims of this "death march" is unknown.

Meet

estimates of the Filipino dead are between 5,000 and 10,000 and the American dead are between 600 and 850 Americans. Only 54 thousand prisoners reached their destination, but did thousands of Filipinos manage to escape into the jungle during the march? 5°.

It should be emphasized that for the Philippines, unlike many other countries in Asia, the loss of hunger during the war years, of course, should be attributed to the number of military losses. Indeed, during the period of American domination in the first half of the twentieth century, there was no famine in the Philippines. It could only have arisen because the Japanese forcibly reduced the cultivation of rice and expanded the production of industrial crops necessary for the war industry. However, there are no statistics on deaths from starvation in the Philippines. There are also lower estimates of the number of deaths during the war years in the Philippines - 500 thousand people, divided with comic accuracy by 141 thousand victims of "massacres", i.e. Japanese war crimes (possibly killed guerrillas are included here), 22, 5 thousand victims of forced labor and 336.5 thousand victims of hunger?

According to the 1946 American estimate, 27 died during the war.

267 Rothsleg Lovp l'. MAG UM/ITOTSE Megsu. R 297; UMPSche, Mafe\X. "Rea Top\$ g 1e Map-tade Medadea\$ oyo {Te 20% Seshagu" // H15{oysa1 AYZAZ\$ oYo Fe Tmepiy Sepagu (Bir://azeg\$.ego] 5.sot/tmIKe28/raez.Wt#Map !A)

268 Sogaop, Ma} . Vasya M. (Ospoyer 28, 2002). "Baaap, Corded1Aot, an e PBea® MagsV: 1 Vetozres{" // Vlr://Lote.rasjeP.ne/Ya1eLp\_Vegozres. T

269 Cricket Yarn . Gtrepal Jarap'5 Mpa\UMag T\uo, 1931-1945. Razsayamau (M.): Tranzasjohn Ri BisBerz, 2010. P. 20, {abh.

260 soldiers of the Philippine army?" However, later estimates significantly increased the death toll - up to 7 thousand dead in the battle for the Philippines in 1941-1942, 8 thousand dead during the guerrilla war and up to 42 thousand dead in captivity (out of total number of 98 thousand prisoners) 272. Werner Gruhl believes that the losses of the Philippine army in the dead amounted to 27 thousand people, including 7 thousand dead in the battle for the Philippines and 20 thousand dead in captivity?" 3. In fact, he repeated the estimate of 1946 The difference between the two estimates of the number of Filipino soldiers who died in captivity (42,000 and 20,000) was probably formed by about 22,000 prisoners who either fled from the camps or were released by the Japanese. In the fact that in the Philippines, as in other occupied territories, the Japanese tried to win over to their side local nationalists who fought for independence against the colonial powers. In the Philippines, the Japanese were supported by part of the leadership of the ruling Nationalist Party. In October 1943, Japan even allowed the independence of the Philippines to be declared, while the real power remained with the Japanese occupation authorities. At the same time, there were quite influential pro-American forces in the Philippines that benefited from trade and economic ties with the United States. Besides, America was not a classic colonial power. Back in early 1935, she undertook to grant independence to the Philippines in ten years, and to provide the country with internal autonomy for a transitional period. After the Japanese occupation, supporters

The pro-American government in exile, which left the Philippines in March 1942, launched a guerrilla war with the support of the Americans. The struggle against the Japanese was also started by detachments formed by the Communist Party of the Philippines. With this in mind, an estimate of 8,000 partisan casualties seems quite plausible, although it is not clear on what data this is based. The guerrilla movement involved both soldiers of the Philippine army who escaped captivity or fled from it, and people who had not previously served in the army. It can be assumed that the losses between the partisans from former soldiers and civilians were distributed approximately equally. Then the total losses of the Philippine army can be estimated at 31 thousand dead, and the loss of civilian guerrillas - at 4 thousand dead. It is alleged that 260 thousand people participated in the guerrilla movement and underground anti-Japanese cells? "", which looks like a significant exaggeration, if only because

Thapzasyon 1998 . Suissez oyo detosae: Ceposle an@ Maz\$ Mioraeg susse 1900 270 Witte! V.]  
[5BM 3-8258-4010-7 Svarleg 3

271 XuaE[yeg MGsVae! . UM'arEage apa Artea Connya1s {5- A Z{aizyasa! veRegepse {o Saziatsu apa O(er  
E1doges,  
1500-2000. Jfeetzon (MS): Ms Rayapa, 2p4 Yea. 2002. R. 566.

272 Erpeg Crysh. Pprepa Jarap'5\$ WoyA M/ag T\ugo, 1931-1945. R. 20, 1st.

273 Pyrtes: A Soititu Za9U /Ea. ru Vopala E. roap Maztoop: SRO South She 14rgagu OG Sopotezz, 1991.

274 \ar Strayez Sop115101.Dipia] Verog 2009-10. Eshapsez, ZyayzNsz ap Zegise. Maldepteaa, Verkzyge,  
Opcea Kta4o, 2010.P 47.

that for so many guerrillas in the Philippines there were neither weapons nor ammunition. And the losses of the partisans indicate that those who really fought against the Japanese were an order of magnitude smaller. Meanwhile, the mountains and jungles of the Philippines were ideal for guerrilla warfare, which the Filipinos had good experience with since the days of Spanish colonial rule.

As for the losses among the civilian population, we purely conditionally define them as half a million people, including here both victims of famine and victims of Japanese war crimes, victims of punitive operations of Japanese troops against partisans and victims among collaborators who died at the hands of partisans, victims of Japanese and American bombings. The true number of civilian deaths may be much higher or much lower than 0.5 million people. However, there is no way to determine it with any precision, as well as to determine in what proportion the indicated categories of victims correlate with each other. The total loss of the population of the Philippines can be equally conditionally estimated at 535,000 dead.

Indian losses

The losses of the armed forces of British India (which included present-day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) are estimated by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission at 87,032 dead, of which only 18,218 are buried in identified graves?"<sup>5</sup>.

According to preliminary data, the losses of the Indian armed forces amounted to 24,338 killed, 11,754 missing, 64,354 wounded and 79,489 captured?"<sup>6</sup>. Of the more than 60,000 Indian prisoners taken by the Japanese in Malaya and during the fall of Singapore in February 1942, at least 11,000 died in captivity?

The British Indian Army bore the brunt of the fight against Japan on the Burmese front and also participated in campaigns in North and East Africa and in Italy. During the fighting in the Asia-Pacific theater, Indian troops lost 67,340 prisoners?"<sup>8</sup>.

Fighting on the Japanese side was the Indian National Army, formed from Indian prisoners by Indian immigrants fighting against British rule in India. It was led by a prominent figure in the Indian National Congress, Subhas Chandra.

OB Tre Tites, 1945, Mouestner 30.

276 Reag Tat, co-of M.V.O. Tve Ohroga Sotrashop {0 Mona Mage P. Ohoga Chsh. Prezz, 2001. R. 443.

277 Zitpeg, 1ap. Tve dad Agschu, 1914-1947. Mezyschzeg: Ozrgeu Rabi\$Yta 14a, 2001. P23.

278 XuaEleg MGsVae! . U'arEage ana Artea Connya1s {5- A Z{aizyasa!1 Veerense {o SasiaTsu ana O{er E1doges, 1500-2000.R 556

Bose, a Bengali by nationality, who headed the Provisional Government of Free India. Starting in 1943, the INA participated in the hostilities, although they tried to avoid clashes. Its leaders hoped, following the Japanese, to break through to India and raise an uprising there. The INA numbered up to 40 thousand people, of which about half were Indian construction and agricultural workers from Southeast Asia. The losses of the INA until the end of the war amounted to 2615 dead and missing?"<sup>7</sup>.

Losses of the civilian population of India are estimated from 1.5 to 3 million dead from starvation? °. This refers to the Bengal famine of 1943, the number of victims of which is estimated at between 1.5 and 3 million people. However, the basis on which the estimate is based is not clear, as there are no statistics to estimate the number of victims. More importantly, mass famines were common in India and in the years between the two world wars, and there is no evidence that the famine of 1943 was due to the war, and not to the uneven distribution of food that is common in India during crop failures. In particular, back in August 1939, there was a massive famine in the state of Rajasthan, which could in no way be connected with World War II.



war. There is no evidence that the famine of 1943 had anything to do with the fighting. In particular, the conscription on a voluntary basis of more than 2 million people in the Indian army, which numbered 195 thousand people at the beginning of the war, could not significantly undermine the country's agriculture, given that India's population was about 400 million people. The total size of the Indian army, including the Military Labor Corps, reached 2.5 million people by the end of the war. "Also, food supplies for the needs of the army could not play a decisive role in causing famine. A more serious factor was the Japanese occupation of Burma, which was the main exporter of rice in India, but the main factor was a purely natural phenomenon - a cyclone that destroyed the main part of the rice crop in Bengal in October 1942.

Therefore, we believe that among the civilian population there were no victims of the war at all, with the exception of those who died in the Indian territories occupied by Japan - the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and a small area near the Burmese border. For a short time, the Japanese managed to capture the capital of Nagaland, Kohima, and one of the INA divisions reached Moudok in the province of Chitagon. In the Andaman Islands, according to Indian estimates, up to 2,000 people died as a result of Japanese occupation. In the Nicobar Islands, very sparsely populated, the victims

279 Lovpt I'. Romeg Mag UTOCHE Megsu. R. 296; Sotdop, GeopatA A., Welem oYo Rgozregtsu apa M15eru sh Mod4erp Wepda !: TVe Rashshe oYo 1943-1944 Bu Sgeepochav, Rau V., Te Atensap N1\$ {opsa1 Vemem", Ua1. 88, Mo. 4 (Ose., 1983), p. 1051.

280 Sotschopmey Chryue Sot111\$\$10p. sha apah Soshtopmeayb Carue Sotlt1\$\$101. Veroge op sha 2007-2008. Malepteaa, Vegk\$yte, Opiea Ktadot, 2008.

281 Razdiria, Gauape. Jarapese w Updatap & #sorag [\$]ap4\$. Wei ouer Nask M/zhzhzeg (Re!1: Mapaz Rabisayot\$) 2002. RR 101, 131, 133; Kaa Rush, G.R. Malog. Nogu oYo {Ve Apatap & yso'ag 1\$]an\$ mV a ezbaChu oYo p@Ch1a'5 Egeedot 51gadoo (Re: Eazegp BookKk SogrogaNop) 1985. PP. 254-255.

there was practically no, since there was no permanent Japanese garrison ???.

We estimate the total losses of India in the Second World War at 91.6 thousand people, of which 89.6 thousand people are military personnel.

#### Losses of Ceylon (Sri Lanka)

The Ceylon garrison artillery regiment, which was dominated by the natives of Ceylon, located in the Cocos Islands, rebelled on May 8, 1942 in anticipation of a Japanese landing. However, other units quickly crushed the uprising, and the three Ceylon soldiers executed on August 4, 1942 became the only soldiers of the British Empire to be shot during the Second World War on charges of rebellion. The leader of the mutiny, the bombadir Gratien Fernando, belonged to the Sinhalese majority population. He was born into a Buddhist family, but later converted to Catholicism. They advocated the independence of Sri Lanka.

After that, the Ceylon units were withdrawn from the front line, and had no more losses. The civilian population also had no losses - and the Japanese landing on Ceylon did not follow. The only bombardment of Colombo on April 5, 1942, was aimed at British ships (two cruisers and an aircraft carrier were sunk) and did not cause any civilian casualties. There was no famine on the island either, as the population was supplied at higher rates than in India in order to prevent unrest among the population. Ceylon was considered the most important strategic object as the only major rubber producer remaining under Allied control in Asia after the Japanese invasion.<sup>83</sup>

#### Losses of Malaya (Malaysia)

John W. Dower estimates the number of victims of the Japanese occupation of Malaya (including British Borneo) at 100 thousand people. This figure is absolutely arbitrary and includes victims of war crimes, hunger and forced labor.

#### Losses of Singapore

During the Japanese occupation, which lasted from February 15, 1942 until the end of the war, Japanese troops were accused of numerous war crimes against the local Chinese population. It is alleged that during the purges of the Chinese population of Malaya and Singapore from anti-Japanese people, carried out

282 See: Criz Mine!. Te Coso\$ 131ana\$ Miipu, Egetan e: Egetapt e Az Setitge Prezz, 2001.

283 Lovpt I/ Bomeg M/ag MTolE Megsu. R. 296.

284 Cricket Yarn . Gtrepal Jarap'5 Mpa \UM/ag T\uo, 1931-1945. Pissayamau (M.): Tranzasjohn Paspergs, 2010. P. 20, F.A.M.; Domeg / LoVp I / UM / ag MITOTSE Megsu. R. 295-296.

Japanese occupying forces killed between 25,000 and 50,000 Chinese. What part of them falls on the population of Singapore is unknown. Since the population of Singapore practically did not serve in the British army, there were no actual military losses among them.

During the period of Japanese occupation, the food situation of the city became much more complicated, primarily due to the reduction in the supply of rice to the market, which the Japanese issued strictly on cards. However, the population of Singapore was able to find a substitute for rice in the form of tapioca sweet potatoes and yams, which could be grown in vegetable gardens, and there was no famine in the city.

#### Indonesian losses

During the war, the population of the Dutch Indies (Indonesia) suffered significant losses, but it is very difficult to establish their true value. There are estimates that during the Japanese occupation, about 4 million Indonesians died of starvation and forced labor<sup>8</sup>. But, firstly, this kind of mortality, from starvation and forced labor, was common for Indonesians even before the Japanese occupation. Secondly, it is absolutely incomprehensible how the figures of 3 or 4 million dead were obtained, who registered them, or how the estimates were made. Strictly speaking, not all those who died of starvation and forced labor should be included among the victims of the war, but only those dead who belong to excess mortality compared to peacetime. However, there are no objective data that would make it possible to establish the amount of excess mortality, as well as the amount of mortality in the pre-war and war years.

Tens of thousands of Indonesians were brought in to build the Burma-Siam Railway to supply the Japanese forces in Burma. How many of them died from starvation and hard work, there is no data, but, in any case, the number of victims can be in the thousands, but not millions. In total, 270 thousand Indonesians were taken out of Indonesia for forced labor. It is also alleged that many Indonesians were victims of war crimes by the Japanese occupation forces, but there are no statistics on this. After the declaration of independence, Indonesian historiography claimed that tens and even hundreds of thousands of Indonesians died in the struggle against the Japanese. In fact, there was no mass anti-Japanese movement in Indonesia. On the contrary, the Japanese supported the local nationalist movement, which had an anti-Dutch orientation, and its leader Ahmed Sukarno was even awarded the Japanese order. The Nationalists, with the support of the Japanese, formed police units. This helped Sukarno proclaim the independence of Indonesia immediately after the Japanese surrender. The armed struggle began in October 1945, when the Japanese tried to remove the local authorities appointed by the Nationalists in order to effect a surrender to the British troops and the former Dutch authorities. By the way, Sukarno opposed

285 RssdaPo RYSHr; TVe] arapese op Tma1; Ant 1979. Svareg "Thie Meteyapa \$5".

release of the interned Dutch. They were released only four months after the Japanese surrender and with the obligation to leave Indonesia. After the war, Dutch authorities handed down 234 death sentences to Japanese accused of war crimes. Altogether, 936 Japanese were convicted?"<sup>86</sup>.

More credible is the data on the losses of the European population. UN experts believed that about 30 thousand Europeans, mostly Dutch and British, as well as about 300 thousand Indonesians who were imprisoned in internment camps, died in Indonesia. However, the latter is a myth, since all Indonesians who served in the Dutch colonial forces and were taken prisoner were sent home. Is there a higher estimate of mortality among Europeans - 35,000 out of 240,000 internees and prisoners?"<sup>87</sup>. The data of the Dutch Red seems to be the most accurate.

Cross, according to which 14.8 thousand Europeans died out of 80 thousand interned 12.5 thousand out of 34 thousand prisoners of war. "Thus, the number of dead Europeans in Indonesia can be estimated at 27.3 thousand people, of which 12, 5 thousand account for prisoners of war - the Dutch, British and Australians.

We estimate the loss of the Indonesian population at no more than 50,000 indigenous people who became victims of forced labor and war crimes, and the loss of the local European, mainly Dutch population, at about 15,000 people.

#### Losses of Portuguese (East) Timor

Although Portugal remained neutral in World War II, its colony of East Timor was occupied by Japanese troops in 1942. With the help of the Australian command, a partisan movement was organized on the island. Australian and Dutch troops were the first to land on East Timor on December 17, 1941, violating its neutrality. The Japanese arrived here only in February 1942. The evacuation of Australian troops from the island was completed only in February 1943. A powerful guerrilla war unfolded on Timor. The local population hoped that after the war the Australians would help them free themselves from Portuguese rule. The Japanese, in turn, sought to use in the struggle against them the population of West Timor, where the Dutch dominated and where the Japanese were initially looked upon as liberators from the Dutch yoke. Australian

236 Optsed Manop\$, Esopopus ap@ 5os1a1 Sochps!, Verog oYo {Ne UMogkta Sgochr south Az1a  
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{fe Par Ea\$%, Zyrr. 10. 1947 RR 13\_14.

287 Ai M. G.]arap'5 So]otmanzt ap shchopez. Tre Nadaye: Magipiz No. M] Boy, 1955. P. 170.

288 Peragetepe oJ Reepse (AizgaPa), 2002, A 5 Bore Nogu oP Ea5e Titog (Bip://Ahey.arcShue.oga/  
mgeb/20060103133824/bp://migmx.4eepse.dou.ach/agt/aspse/ b1\$bogu .B em); SBotp\$Ku. Moat. Creep  
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it is estimated that between 40,000 and 70,000 inhabitants of East Timor, both partisans and civilians, died in battles with the Japanese<sup>39</sup>. The lower estimate of 40 thousand dead seems to us closer to reality.

#### Australian losses

Australian troops fought both in the European and North African, and in the Asia-Pacific theaters. In total, 993 thousand people were drafted into the Australian army, of which

557.8 thousand served outside of Australia?%. Australian troops fought in North Africa against Rommel's Afrika Korps and in 1941 in Greece and Crete. Only a few Australian air formations and ships participated against Germany during the Italian campaign, as well as during the Normandy landings. Australian pilots also took part in air battles over the British Isles and in the strategic bombing of Germany in 1940-1945. In this war, about 3.5 thousand Australians died in the air.

The main efforts of Australia were aimed at fighting Japan. Australian ground formations fought against the Japanese in Indonesia, Malaya and Singapore, and then successfully defended against the Japanese invasion in New Guinea.

In total, Australia lost in the Second World War, according to official estimates, 39,685 military personnel and 735 civilians?'. The latter became victims of the Japanese aerial bombardment of Australia in 1942-1943, and were also merchant marine sailors who died during attacks by enemy aircraft and ships. More than 30,000 Australian troops were taken prisoner, including more than two-thirds in the Asia-Pacific theater of operations. If the mortality in German and Italian captivity was low, then 36% of Australians, or 8031 people, did not return from Japanese captivity ?? . Of the 22,376 Australian prisoners of war, 14,972 were captured in Singapore, 2,736 in Java, 1,137 in Timor, 1,075 in the Indonesian island of Ambon of the Moluccas, and 1,049 in New Britain, the largest island of the Bismarck Archipelago off the coast of New Guinea."

289 AizgaNa piece No. \MVag oYo 19391945. beshchez 1 - Agtu. \oishe UP: T.opa Saush. TVe Eta!  
Satra19t\$. Canerga: Ai haYap U/ar Metola1 (154+ e4 Shop, 1963). P 633.

290 Apz{gaYyap \Wag Metope!. Pea {\$ 5 az and geza oYo zegmse mi AiztaNay ip!

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291 Ha.

292 Ayatayap Mage Metona!. Sepega|! sogtaiop aboyyo AizgaPyap risopegs oYo 1e

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293 AizgaNa w No. \M/ag oYo 1939\_1945. bezez 1 - Agtu. \oishe UP: T.opa Saush. Te Eta! Satra \$191. Canerga: Aiz{naPYap U/ar Methona1. R, 633-636; AizgaPa w Te \M/ag of

1939-1945. Zechez 2 - Mauu. Waate P: SSH S Negtogp. Voya1 Ah\$(gaPap Mauu, 1942-1945. Canerga: Achs{raYap  
Vag Meton] (1s e@lop, 1968). P 710-713; AiztaPNa sh Shche MVag oE 1939-

1945.

The losses of the Australian armed forces are distributed as follows? In the struggle against Germany and Italy, the Australian land army lost 2610 people killed and those missing who were declared dead, 700 people died of wounds, 242 people died in captivity. In addition, 6874 people returned from captivity, and 8925 people were injured but survived. Fleet losses in the war against Germany and Italy 900 people killed and missing, recognized as dead, 3 people died from wounds. In addition, 25 people returned from captivity, and 26 people were injured but survived. The Australian Air Force in the fight against Germany and Italy lost 5036 killed and missing, recognized as killed, 58 people who died of wounds and 23 people who died in captivity. In addition, 1020 pilots returned from captivity, and 529 people were wounded but survived.

In the struggle against Japan, the Australian land army lost 6294 people killed and missing, recognized as dead, 1090 people died of wounds, 7777 people died in captivity. In addition, 13,872 returned from captivity and 13,191 were wounded but survived. Naval losses in the fight against Japan amounted to 840 killed and missing, presumed dead, 41 died of wounds and 116 died in captivity. In addition, 238 people returned from captivity and 553 people were injured but survived. Australian Air Force casualties against Japan were 1,140 killed and missing, presumed killed, 65 dead from wounds and 138 dead in captivity. In addition, 235 airmen returned from Japanese captivity, and 253 were wounded but survived.

In the Pacific theater of operations, 85 soldiers of the allied Australia of Papua New Guinea, which was an Australian colony at that time, also died. 201 Papuans were wounded.

Non-combat casualty casualties, suicides, executions by firing squad in the war zone amounted to 1,165 dead and dead and 33,396 wounded in the Australian Army. Non-combat losses incurred outside the combat zones, in rear areas, mainly in Australia, amounted to 2,051 dead and dead and 121,800 wounded.

Non-combat losses of the fleet amounted to 181 people who died. From non-combat causes, 1 employee of the auxiliary female service of the fleet also died. Air Force non-combat losses reached 6271 people, including 3861 dead and 2410 wounded. As part of the Australian land army, 6,038 people died from diseases, of which 2,658 people died in Australia, and the number of people who fell ill outside the Australian mainland was 433,587 people. In the fleet, 147 people died from diseases and another 5 people from the Women's Auxiliary Service of the Fleet. As part of the Australian Air Force, 342 people died of disease, of which only 40 are in the European and North African theaters.

Zechez 3 - Ash \01. GU: Negpobop JoBp. At Romeg Oueg Yeigore, 1944-1945. Caperga: Achz{gaYap MU'ag Metoma!1, (151 eop, 1963). R. 508-513.

294 \ar Strayez Con115\$101.Dipia] Veroge 2009-10. Eshapsez, ZyayzNsz ap Zegmse. Maldeptea, Verkzyge, Opcea Kta4o, 2010.P 47.

In total, the Australian armed forces lost 40,764 killed and dead. This figure is close to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's latest estimate of 40,464 Australian service deaths, of which 28,374 are buried in identified graves??. The irretrievable losses of the armed forces of Australia can be estimated at 40.5 thousand people, and the loss of the civilian population - at 0.7 thousand people.

If we take only the losses of the Australian armed forces killed and died of wounds, then the fight against Germany and Japan accounts for 9307 dead, and the fight against Japan - 9470 people. Thus, these figures are almost equal. At the same time, losses in the Asia-Pacific theater are dominated by losses of the ground army, and in the Western theater - losses of the Air Force. The preponderance of losses in favor of the Asia-Pacific theater arises at the expense of prisoners and those who died in captivity. 9837 Australians fell into the Italo-German captivity, of which only 265, or 2.7%, died, and 22,376 into the Japanese, of which 8031, or 35.9% died. Such a high mortality rate among prisoners of war in Japan was due to the fact that the Japanese did not comply with the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War, used them for hard work, poorly fed them, and often killed them for no reason. In Japanese military ethics, captivity was considered the greatest shame. The Japanese themselves almost did not surrender, they deeply despised those of their opponents who surrendered, and therefore they treated the prisoners very badly, not even considering their murder a crime, because all the same, these people, from the point of view of the Japanese, lost face, which was the most terrible punishment in terms of Shintoism.

The Australian Land Army in the Western Theater had 9,625 wounded and 2,610 killed, giving a ratio of 3.7:1. In the Asia-Pacific theater, 6,294 were killed for 14,281 wounded, giving a ratio of 2.3:1. Such a significant decrease in the number of wounded per killed is obviously due to the fact that the Australian troops in the first stage of the war with Japan suffered more severe defeats than in the fight against Italy and Germany, and many Australians found themselves in a hopeless situation, without ammunition, and often were killed by the Japanese, who did not always seek to take prisoners. The share of those who died from wounds among soldiers of the ground forces in the Western theater was 7.3%, and in the Asia-Pacific theater - 7.6%. This suggests that the level of Australian medical service in both theaters was about the same, and the more unfavorable nature of the hostilities against Japan, as well as the difference in climatic conditions, significantly affected the survival rate of the wounded.

had no influence.

#### New Zealand losses

About 240 thousand people were called up to the armed forces of New Zealand, from September 3, 1939 until the end of the war, fighting on the side of the Anti-Hitler coalition, of which 140 thousand people served outside New Zealand.

295 TBe Tipez, 1945, Mouetfeg 30.

New Zealand military losses were 10,033 killed, 2,129 missing and 8,453 captured? %. Subsequently, the total death toll increased to 11,929, while 233 missing persons were confirmed alive. Of the total number of dead, 9041 were buried in the identified graves?"

The losses of the New Zealand ground forces in Europe (the 2nd Expeditionary New Zealand Corps fought there), participating in the hostilities in North Africa in 1941-1943, in Greece and Crete in 1941 and in Italy in 1943-1945, amounted to 5624 killed , as well as those who died from wounds and in captivity, 7876 prisoners who were lucky enough to survive captivity, 312 missing, who were never found and should probably be attributed to the dead, as well as 15,644 wounded who were lucky enough to stay alive ?. After Japan started the war in the Pacific, the 2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force was formed to operate in the Pacific. Its units took part in the battles in the Solomon Islands and carried out garrison duty on the islands in the South Pacific. Later, the Americans replaced a significant part of the New Zealand troops in the Pacific Islands in order to free them for the Italian campaign. New Zealand ground forces were also planned to be used for the proposed landing in Japan, and after the surrender of Tokyo, they participated in the occupation of the Japanese islands.

Losses of the New Zealand Air Force, operating as part of the Dominion Air Force, amounted to 2960 killed, wounded and missing. The losses of the New Zealanders who fought in the ranks of the Royal Air Force of Great Britain amounted to 3285 dead and 548 prisoners? The total combat losses of the Royal New Zealand Air Force, fighting both in the Dominions Air Force and in the Royal Air Force of Great Britain, amounted to 3687 dead and dead. If we add up the casualties of the Expeditionary Force in Europe and the New Zealand Air Force, we get 9723. The remaining 2206 people apparently fall on the irretrievable losses of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force ground forces, which were insignificant, the losses of the New Zealand fleet, as well as irretrievable losses from disease and other non-combat causes for all three branches of the New Zealand armed forces. According to some reports, about 600 New Zealanders died during the fighting in the Solomon Islands, of which 345 belonged to the Air Force?'. Probably 255 killed

296 \ar Strayez Con15101.Dipia] Verogyo 2009-10. Eshapsez, ZyayzNsz ap Zegmse. Maldepteaa, Verkzyge, Opcea Kta4o, 2010.P 47.

297 Osa H1\${ogu o Mem Yea]ap4 sh She 5esopa \U/oCh4 M/ag 1939\_dk. Seeueps, UMINash Seogde. ProMetz oYo 2 MXEE. Me]tobop: Mag H1ogu Vgapsv, 1958.R. 292.

298 Wasp! H15fogu oYo Mem Khea]ap4 sh fe Zesop@ \Mlo\19 ug 1939-45: N.T. Meme Gea1ap4degz MB Be Whoa! Alt Rogse. \o1. P. Metokop: Vyag N1Sogu Vgaps, 1956. P. 455.

299 VMAAE sh UPA \var P // Bir: anogse.al.p2/afoi-iz/rzboguli. Was



300 SVep S. Reeg. Mem Usa]ana sh Mona Mag P // Bi r:/Lmm2 b.sot/coatigu/pem gea1apa

301 Opkea Z{ayez Z{aye Peragetete Vaskdgoit4 po{ez. Maigi. Lou 29, 2010. Vigeam oYo

and those who died from wounds - this is the loss of the New Zealand land army in the battles in the Pacific.

#### Losses of Nauru

The former German colony of the island of Nauru was under the joint control of England, Australia and New Zealand before the outbreak of World War II. In August 1942, Japan occupied Nauru without a fight and removed 1,200 natives for forced labor in the Caroline Islands. 463 of them died due to a change in their usual way of life and environment and hard work<sup>2</sup>. The surviving Naurans returned to their homeland in 1945. In total, 38.6% of the deportees died, which amounted to 13.6% of the total population of Nauru at the beginning of the war.

#### Losses of Papua New Guinea

Losses of the population of Papua New Guinea from shelling and bombing during the hostilities are estimated at 15 thousand people<sup>3</sup>. The basis for this assessment is unclear. The loss of the armed forces of Papua New Guinea during the fighting on the island amounted to 85 killed and 201 wounded.

#### Pacific Island population losses

The term "Pacific Islands" includes the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, the Palau archipelago, the Northern Mariana Islands, and the island of Guam. R.J. Rummel estimates the number of victims of Japanese war crimes on these islands at 57,000<sup>4</sup>. During the battle for the island of Saipan from among the Marianas, 10,000 local Japanese civilians committed suicide<sup>3</sup>. During the fighting on the island of Guam in July 1944, up to 600 civilians could have been killed by American and Japanese shells and bombs.

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302 VL), \. Ga] apa Kayoe Yeogeashe. Te Ras! Sun 1apaz: An Epsu'oreCh1a. Nopotsla: Oshueg\$Tsu OG Namgay  
Prezz, 2000.R. 244

303 Witte! IN. J. ZZai\$As\$ oE aChetosve: Sepos14e apa Mazz Miagaer eshse 1900. SVafeg 3.

304 Rozheg/ovp I'. Mage M Totz + Megsu. R; 297-299.

305 Roweg GT; Together, Zatappe; Sagass!, Gaigepse MagzVap. Te Turboop oYo Mage: M! sgopezap Ekhreyepses oYo {Fe Ras1s \ UMag Otmu oYo Namap Rg, Nopots a, Naugai, 1.5.A., 2001.

306 The assessment took into account the ratio of the losses of the armies of various states by theaters of combat operations. See: ESH5, /oVp. My MVag P - A%ay\$Isa! zigueu M.U.: Eac{\$ op EPe, 1993.R. 256 (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the 20th century, pp. 134-35).

The ratio of irretrievable losses of the armed forces of the parties in the Asia-Pacific theater of operations

In the Japanese army, surrender was considered an act of shame. The samurai code of honor forbade surrender. But not only samurai, i.e. persons of the Japanese nobility, but also the vast majority of the rest of the Japanese military, preferred suicide or death in a hopeless attack, after running out of ammunition, with only melee weapons against an enemy armed with guns and machine guns. Therefore, the number of Japanese prisoners was very small. Stalin unsuccessfully sought to instill in Soviet soldiers the psychology of the Japanese and to get them to never surrender. It was believed that a Red Army soldier could be captured only if he was unconscious or seriously wounded and could no longer resist. However, the Soviet mentality was still closer to the European, and not to the Japanese, and the majority of Red Army soldiers had a stronger sense of self-preservation than the fear of reprisals for surrendering. In the Japanese army, without any reprisals, the vast majority of soldiers, without any threats of reprisals, preferred death to surrender, even in a completely hopeless situation. Therefore, comparing the losses of the Japanese killed with the losses of their opponents would be incorrect. In Japanese military losses, there is no way to distinguish between those killed in battle, those who died from wounds, those who died from disease, and other categories of irretrievable losses. It should be noted that the number of wounded in the Japanese army due to these reasons was relatively small, since even the seriously wounded often fought to the end.

It seems to us that for a correct comparison, it is necessary to compare the total losses of Japan and its opponents by those killed, who died from wounds, diseases and other causes, as well as captured. If we take the war between Japan and China in 1937-1945 as a separate theater of operations, then we estimate the total losses of the anti-Japanese Chinese armies killed and died from wounds and diseases (but without prisoners and those who died in captivity) at 1.92 million people. Japanese casualties in this theater of operations - 455.7 thousand people. The ratio of irretrievable losses of the armed forces of Japan and China by dead and dead is 4.2:1. It can be assumed that the ratio of killed will be even less favorable for China, since in Japanese losses, in all likelihood, at least half is due to deaths from diseases, while in Chinese losses the proportion of deaths from diseases is only slightly more than a third. The ratio of losses was affected both by the superiority of Japan in the level of economic development, and in particular

the superiority of the Japanese army over the Chinese. Japan began to create modern armed forces on the European model as early as the end of the 19th century, while in China, torn apart by a civil war, attempts to create such an army with Soviet and German help began to be made only from the mid-20s of the 20th century, with great success in approaching the combat readiness of Chinese troops to the level of European armies was not achieved.

Losses of Japanese troops in other theaters of operations, with the exception of China, Manchuria and all prisoners who died after

capitulations amounted to 1633.4 thousand dead, dead and captured. We estimate the losses of the troops opposed to them by the dead, the dead and the prisoners as follows? 7:

USA - 127.5 thousand people.

Canada - 2.0 thousand people.

Great Britain - 94 thousand people. Union of South Africa - 1.1 thousand people. Australia - 35.5 thousand people.

New Zealand - 0.6 thousand people. Holland - 40.5 thousand people.

India - 131 thousand people.

Philippines - 113 thousand people. French Indochina - 2.1 thousand people. Total: 547.2 thousand people.

The ratio is 3.0:1, not in favor of the Japanese side. This ratio, in all likelihood, is obtained primarily due to the high mortality from disease in the Japanese army due to the poor organization of the sanitary service. The superiority of the American troops in the number of personnel, weapons and military equipment played a role. After the American fleet inflicted a decisive defeat on the Japanese fleet at Midway Atoll in June 1942, the outcome of the war in the Pacific theater was effectively decided. After that, Japan could only hope for a German victory in Europe. However, after the Wehrmacht was defeated at Stalingrad in January 1943, Japan could only hope to prolong the war and try to reach a compromise peace if America was exhausted by the war. But already from 1943, the dominance of the American fleet in the Pacific Ocean was such that the American command almost always had the opportunity to concentrate superior forces and means against the Japanese, which could not but affect the ratio of losses. The huge superiority of the USA over Japan in the level of industrial development predetermined the unfavorable loss ratio for Japan.

The losses of Japanese troops in Manchuria and the Kuril Islands during the fighting against the Red Army in August and early September 1945 obviously consist of the losses of the army and navy in Manchuria and on Sakhalin and the Kuriles. Japanese army losses

Manchuria in 1941-1945 are estimated at 46,700 people. Of this number, probably at least half are those who died from diseases, since until August 9, 1945, there were no hostilities here. Likewise, virtually all Japanese military casualties in South and North Korea (26,500), where there was virtually no combat, can be attributed to deaths from disease. On Sakhalin, Japanese losses amounted to about 2 thousand killed and missing, and on the Kuril Islands - 1018 killed and wounded? ° 3. Assuming that those killed in

307 Haara T., Yasuoka A. Nihon Rikukaigun Jiten (Dictionary of the Japanese Army and Navy). Tokyo, 2003. Reported by G.B. Brylevsky.

308 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 309.

in this case, there were about the same number as the wounded, the total losses of the Japanese in the battles for Sakhalin and the Kuriles can be estimated at 2.5 thousand people, and the total losses of the Japanese armed forces in the war with the Soviet Union in August - September 1945 - at 25 850 killed and died of wounds. Soviet losses in the war with Japan, according to Russian official figures, amounted to 12,031 killed and died of wounds. Another 72 people were killed by the allied Red Army Mongolian troops?3'. Keeping in mind that the official Russian data on the irretrievable losses of the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War are approximately three times underestimated, and taking into account the relatively small number of losses in the Soviet-Japanese War, we assume that the figure of 12,031 dead may be approximately doubled. Then the losses of the Red Army in the war against Japan, together with the losses of the Mongolian allies, can be estimated at 24.1 thousand dead. The ratio of casualties in the Soviet-Japanese war will then be 1.07:1 in favor of the Red Army. The ratio of casualties turns out to be slightly more favorable for the Red Army than in the battles at Khasan and Khalkhin Gol. The overwhelming superiority of the Soviet troops in people and military equipment, as well as the fact that a week after the start of hostilities, the Japanese troops stopped resistance, following the emperor's statement of surrender, had an effect here.

Losses of countries in Europe, North and South America and the Middle East  
(European and Mediterranean theaters of operations)

US losses

Between December 1, 1941 and August 31, 1945, 14,903,213 people served in the American armed forces, including 10,420,000 people in the Army, 3,883,520 people in the Navy, and 599,693 people in the Marine Corps. . The losses of the US military in World War II amounted to 405,399 dead and dead. Of this number, 291,557 are combat casualties and 113,842 are non-combat casualties. The surviving wounded in the American armed forces numbered 670,846. This included all the wounded and sick who died before the end of 1946, but the number of victims after August 31, 1945 was extremely small. Army losses amounted to 318,274 dead. Of this number for combat losses

there are 234,874 people, and non-combat losses, which include mainly victims of disease, as well as accidents, suicides and those shot by sentences of tribunals, - 83,400 people. In addition, 9098 prisoners of war who died from non-combat causes stand out as part of the combat losses of the army. The number of surviving war wounded in the ground forces was 565,861.

Losses of army aviation, included in the losses of land

309 Geapa Appe ,, OBogoseapa, May-Japa "M-J". Atepsap Mag apa MPCagu OregaiYopz. Sasiaez: \$115 ap ZbaN\$Is\$. Ebgiagu 26, 2010. M/azts.: Condgress liuopa1 VezeagsV Zerluse, 2010. P 2-4, tam 1.

army, amounted to 52,173 deaths for combat reasons and 35,946 for non-combat reasons. It should be emphasized that the US strategic aviation, which bombed Germany and Japan, was part of the army aviation. The latter was also bombed by fleet and marine corps aircraft.

Fleet losses amounted to 62,614, including 36,950 combat and 25,664 non-combat. There were 37,778 wounded who survived the war in the Navy. In the Marine Corps, a total of 24,511 people died. Of this number, 19,733 are combat losses and 4,778 are non-combat losses. Survived the war 67,207 wounded US Marines?3?.

In the army, 189,666 people died in battle, 26,309 people died of wounds, 575,861 people were wounded, and 12,752 people were missing. In the fleet, 34,702 men died in action, 1,783 men died of wounds, and 26,793 men died of other causes. The number of wounded who survived was estimated among American sailors at 33,870, and the number of missing was only 28 people. The US Marine Corps lost 15,460 killed in action, 3,163 died of wounds, and another 5,863 non-combat deaths, mostly from disease. Marine casualties in wounded were 67,134. 172,952 people served in the US Coast Guard, of which 1,917 people died, including 572 in combat?

In total, about 140 thousand women served in the US Army, including about 1 thousand in army aviation. 100,000 women served in the Navy, 23,000 in the Marine Corps. Another 13,000 American women served in the Coast Guard, and 74,000 in the medical service of the Army and Navy. In the US Army, a total of 446 women died, including 244 officers. Of this number, only 16 people can be attributed to combat losses, and all of them are officers?!?.

Distribution of combat losses of the US armed forces killed by

the main theaters of operations and types of armed forces are as follows: 313

Euro-Atlantic Theater

Total: 183,588, including 1,124 who died in captivity. Army ground forces - 141,088.

Army Air Force - 36,461.

Navy and Coast Guard - 6039.

310 Msheer Erganses Triuan Te Soshre H1\$orgy oYo Moya \M/ar P. \U'asV.

311 Oyose oYo Me Aadkat { Sepega! 1, 0.5. Agtu Wa e Sazchale\$ apa Mop-a-Che Rrea\$ p

Mota\Mage P. Eta! Verogee. 7 Beset'er 1941-31 Reset'er 1946". Ma\$V: Sopltap@ apa Sepega1 Oba SoPesde, 1953.  
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Asia Pacific theater

Total: 108,504, including 12,935 who died in captivity. Army ground  
forces - 41,592.

Army Air Force - 15,694.

Navy and Coast Guard - 31,485.

Marine Corps - 19,733.

Army not allocated to theaters - 39.

A more detailed distribution of the combat losses of the American ground army in  
various theaters of operations is presented in the following table:

Distribution of US Army Combat Losses by Casualty Categories and  
Theaters of Operations

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Losses of American civilians are reduced to the losses of sailors of the American merchant fleet during the Battle of the Atlantic and from Japanese submarines in the Pacific. The bulk of American merchant ships were sunk in the Atlantic. A total of 9,497 American merchant marine sailors lost their lives and died. Of this number, at least 66 died in Japanese captivity, and about 1,100 died from their wounds<sup>3</sup>. In addition, 1,704 American civilians interned in Japan (1,536) and Germany (168) died during the Japanese air attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 from "friendly fire" of American troops, and 6 more American civilians in Oregon were killed by a bomb delivered by an unguided Japanese balloon<sup>4</sup>.

The total US casualties in the war are 416,674, of which only 11,275 are civilians.

#### Losses of Canada

The losses of the Canadian armed forces are estimated by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission at 45,383 dead, including 102 dead natives of Newfoundland (21 in the army, 41 in the navy and 40 in the air force), which until 1949 was not formally part of Canada, but was independent dominion. It should be noted that another 600 Newfoundlanders died in the British armed forces, including 115 in the army, 351 in the navy and 134 in aviation. In addition, 356 Newfoundlanders died on British merchant ships. 37,348 Canadian servicemen buried in —identified graves<sup>5</sup>. According to preliminary data, after the end of the war, the losses of the Canadian armed forces amounted to 37,476 dead, 1,843 missing, 53,174 wounded and 9,045 captured<sup>6</sup>. In addition, about 1,600 sailors of the Canadian merchant fleet died on ships sunk by German submarines in the Atlantic. In the ranks of the Canadian Army, combat losses amounted to about 23 thousand dead, in the ranks of the Air Force - 17 thousand, in the ranks of the navy - about 2 thousand dead<sup>7</sup>. Canadian forces fought almost exclusively against Germany and Italy. They participated in the raid on Dieppe in March 1942, in the offensive in Western Europe after the landings in Normandy in 1944-1945, in the Battle of the Atlantic and in the strategic bombing of Germany, as well as in the Italian campaign. Canada's contribution to the fighting on

314 XuaEleg M'tsVae! . UMagare an Arteya Connya's {5/ P 550-552.

315 \Var Strayez Sopt15101.Dipia] Veroge 2009-10. Eshapsez, Zyazinsz ap Zegmse. Maldepteaa, Verkzyge, Opcea Kta4o, 2010. P 47.

316 TPe Tipez, 1945, Mouetfeg 30.

317 SapaFap Mag Mizeit. Zapada a Fe 5esopa M'ota M'ag. Soiplpd Fe co\$yo. 1939\_ 1945 // BER://igigi'. mgatlazeit.ca/cmii/exb 1 op\$/svgopo/1931c0\$e\_e.z5 and

318 Sapa 1ap Mag Mizeit.Thie Vae Yut Nopd Kopa, 1941 //

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The Asia-Pacific theater was more modest and limited to the participation of 1975 Canadian soldiers in the defense of Hong Kong. 290 of them were killed, and the rest, including several hundred wounded, were captured. By the end of the war, about 300 Canadians had died in Japanese captivity'. In addition, at the end of the war, Canadian ships were used in operations in the Pacific. Canadian troops helped the Americans clear the Japanese from the Aleutian Islands, and two transport squadrons supplied Allied forces in Burma and India.

Taking into account the losses of Newfoundland, the loss of Canadian military personnel can be estimated at 46 thousand dead, and the loss of the civilian population - at 2 thousand dead.

#### Brazilian losses

Brazil became the only Latin American country - members of the Anti-Hitler coalition, which sent its ground forces to Europe to participate in the Italian campaign. Brazil declared war on the Axis on August 22, 1942. The Brazilian Navy took part in the Battle of the Atlantic, during which 492 sailors were killed. In addition, 470 sailors of the merchant fleet and 502 passengers perished on merchant ships sunk by German submarines. The expeditionary force in Italy from June 1944 to April 1945 consisted of 25,334 people and consisted of one division and an aviation group. His losses amounted to 510 dead??. The total losses of Brazil in World War II can be estimated at 2 thousand people, which are almost equally distributed between the military and civilians.

#### Losses of Mexico

Mexico lost 9 pilots of the squadron, which, together with the Americans, operated in the Asia-Pacific theater of operations against Japan in the Philippines and Taiwan in 1945. 1 pilot died in combat, 3 at sea after running out of fuel, 1 in an accident while returning from a sortie, 4 during training flights3??. In addition, one ground support soldier died in a hospital in the Philippines from illness. In addition, 63

sailor of the merchant fleet died during the battle for the Atlantic??3.

319 XuaE!eg MGsVea! . MagPage ap artei con1c{s: a {a \$isa1 geerepse {0 casiaTsu an a o{ ger Boures, 1618-1991.R. 540.

320 EUR\$ GoVp . M\opA MVar P - A %aN\$ca]] zigueu M.U.: Eac&\$ op RPe, 1993. P. 256.

321 Noges sapHnado A : G/regaNop OE {e RYIRte\$ (Vlr://  
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323 XuaEyeg MGsVea! . MagPage an artei cont1c{5: a {a \$isa1 geGense +0 casiaKu ana o{ ger Boures, 1618-1991.R. 540.

#### Cuban losses

The losses of Cuba, which was a member of the Anti-Hitler coalition, were reduced to the death of 79 sailors on 5 merchant ships sunk by German submarines?\*

#### Losses of England (United Kingdom of England, Scotland and Northern Ireland)

About 5.5 million people served in the British armed forces. The latest estimate from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission puts the military casualties of the United Kingdom as well as the British colonies in World War II at 383,786 military dead, of which 244,661 are buried in identified graves??. Of this number, 31,271 military personnel died of natural causes, mainly from disease and accidents3–6. British colonies involved in the war (Ghana, West Africa, East Africa, the Caribbean, Hong Kong, Malaya, Burma, Jordan, Sudan, Malta, and Palestine, represented by the Jewish Brigade) lost in the war according to preliminary data from June 1945 6877 killed, 14,208 missing (mostly in Japanese captivity), 6,972 wounded and 8,115 captured??

The distribution of British casualties by service, amounting to 357,116 dead, including the listed British colonies, as well as Newfoundland and Southern Rhodesia, according to the preliminary official loss report made in June 1946, was as follows: the navy - 50,758, the army - 144,079, Air Force - 69,606, Women's Auxiliary Territorial Service - 624, Merchant Navy - 30,248, British Self-Defense Forces - 1206 and civilians - 60,595. Navy - 340, in the army - 2267, in the Air Force - 3089, in the women's auxiliary territorial service - 18, in the merchant fleet - 530. Probably, the vast majority of these missing should be considered dead. In addition to 60,595 civilians killed by air and missile attacks, 1,206 British self-defense units were killed. The report was not

324 \ar Strayez Sopt15101.Dipia] Verog 2009-10. Eshapsez, ZyayzNsz ap Zegmse. Maldepteaa, Verkzyge, Opcea Kta4o, 2010.P 47.

325 Sets] Z{ay\$lsa! Oyse Zfai\$lsa! y1de\${ oy Fe M/ag. Gop4dot: NM\$OL.opdman\$ Cheen apa So, 1951. P 14-16.

326 TVe Tiles, 1945, Mouet'er 30.

327 Utepo ap Saziaches oYo Te Agtey Rogsez ap AihShagu Zegusez oYo Fe Opcea Kpodaot  
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reflects the deaths of those civilians who died in internment camps in the Axis. Probably,  
at their expense, the total number of dead and dead civilians rises to 67,328.

Losses of the civilian population of Great Britain amounted to 67,080 people  
- victims of bombing and shelling with rockets "V" 329. Also, this number may include several  
dozen Australian citizens who became victims of the Japanese bombing of Australia. In  
England, sailors of the merchant fleet who died during the Battle of the Atlantic, as well as  
in other theaters of war, including during the passage of northern convoys to the USSR, are  
traditionally included in the losses of the armed forces.

The losses of the British ground forces in killed and captured are as follows  
distributed by theater of operations:

Norway, 1940: killed - 0.8 thousand, captured - 0.2 thousand

Western Front, 1940: killed - 11.01 thousand, captured - 41.34 thousand

Balkans, 1941: killed - 2.0 thousand, captured - 0.8 thousand

East Africa, 1940-1941: 2,500 killed

North Africa, 1940-1943: killed - 13.4 thousand, captured - 10.6 thousand

Italy, 1943-1945: killed - 24.6 thousand, captured - 3.5 thousand.

Western Front, 1944-1945: killed - 30.28 thousand, captured - 14.7 thousand

Far East, 1941-1945: 5.67 thousand killed, 53.23 thousand captured:

The total losses of the United Kingdom in the war, together with the losses of the  
colonies, can be estimated at 450.9 thousand dead, of which only 97.8 thousand falls  
on the civilian population. We, in contrast to British statistics, attribute the losses of sailors of the  
merchant fleet to the losses of the civilian population. Losses of the colonies cannot exceed  
21,085 dead military personnel. If we assume that about half of the 14,208 missing  
soldiers of the colonial troops died, the total losses of the colonies by the dead can be  
estimated at 14.0 thousand dead. Then the loss of the British Isles proper can be  
estimated at 436.9 thousand people.

Losses of the Union of South Africa

South African troops fought in East and North Africa against German and Italian troops, in the capture of the island of Madagascar in May 1942, occupied by the troops of the Vichy French government, in the Italian campaign. The South African Air Force also operated in the Balkans, bombing Romanian oil fields and dropping supplies on the Warsaw rebels in 1944.

334,000 volunteers served in the South African armed forces, including

328 M/ag Straues Sott15\$101\_Appia] Verote 2009-10. E1menses, Z6anzUss apa Zer\ce. R 49.

329 HP5.] My Mage P: Ah Zai\$Isa!| zagueu; Erlikhman V. Population losses in the XX century. pp. 40, 134-135.

330 \Var Strayez Sop15101.Dipia] Veroge 2009-10. Eshapsez, ZyayzNsz ap Zegmse. Maldepteaa, Verkzyge, Opcea Kta4o, 2010. P 47.

including 211 thousand whites, 77 thousand blacks and 46 thousand colored and Asians.

Union of South Africa military casualties, according to the latest estimate of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, were 11,903 dead, of which 10,021 were buried in identified graves?! After the end of the war, the losses of the South African armed forces were estimated at 6,840 killed, 1,841 missing, 14,363 wounded and 14,589 captured??3?.

#### Irish losses

Ireland was the only British dominion to remain neutral during World War II. However, according to the Irish authorities, about 70 thousand citizens of Ireland voluntarily served in the British army. In 1995, the then head of the Irish government, John Bratton, claimed that only about 150 thousand Irish from the North and South of the island served in the British army (Ireland did not recognize the separation of Northern Ireland, which became part of the United Kingdom), and at least 10 thousand of them died ?333. Taking into account the fact that the number of actually Irish citizens who served in the British army is estimated at 70 thousand people, their losses in the dead can be estimated at 4.7 thousand people. These losses are also included in the losses of the English army.

#### Iraqi losses

On March 31, 1941, the regent of Iraq, which was a British protectorate, Prince Amir Abdul Ilah, having learned about a plot against himself, fled to a British warship in the Persian Gulf. On April 1, a pro-German former prime minister, Rashid Ali, came to power in a coup. On April 17, he asked for military assistance from Germany in case Iraq had to go to war with England. On May 2, 1941, British troops began fighting against the Iraqis,

surrounded their military base in Habbaniya. On May 30, British troops occupied Baghdad, and Rashid Ali fled to Iran. On May 31, an armistice was signed. Germany and Italy, due to their geographical remoteness, were able to send only 41 planes to Iraq - 29 German and 12 Italian. Also, the French authorities in Syria, subordinate to the Vichy government, organized the supply of weapons to the Iraqi army. Before the end of the fighting, German and Italian military personnel left Iraq on the surviving aircraft. Losses of Iraqi troops, according to the Iraqi command, amounted to 500 killed and 1250 wounded ??", as well as dozens

331 Tre Tites, 1945, Mouestner 30.

332 Aoreg5s Seoyteu . Tie SpvaPepde OR Tbe Plz UoGascheeg\$ oYo My \M/ag P (2004) (VER://mgilig.geRott.ogd/TeVeyutgtMouetepe Shez/agise Shez/agises/mgag.Bt).

333 YwueP Agsfa14. Don't worry op Oregayop\$ w Fe M1aale Ea\$e Egotsh 71 Refgiagu, 1941 {about 15 Lou 1941. Goopdop: Mag Oebse. sh Gondop Sa7eye: (Zirretep() no. 37638. R 3439, 3 Lou 1946.

334 Nabfashua \Umag Setshegu. Sottopmea VV M/ag Strayez Sottp1\$\$101. 12 AMD\$E 2010.

thousand prisoners. 19 German and 3 Italian aircraft were shot down or lost for technical reasons, as well as all 60 combat-ready Iraqi aircraft. The British lost 60 killed and died from wounds and several hundred wounded, as well as 28 aircraft. In total, 162 soldiers of the British Empire are buried in Iraq, as well as 10 Poles and 1 Norwegian. 115 of them either died of disease or crashed during training flights??3°.

We estimate the loss of Iraq in World War II at 0.5 thousand people.  
Human.

#### Iranian losses

During the occupation of Iran by Soviet and British troops from August 25 to September 17, 1941, undertaken to protect Iranian oil fields from the Axis countries, Iranian troops lost about 200 people dead in clashes with the invaders. On August 29, the Iranians ceased resistance against the British, and on August 30 against the Soviet troops. The allies deposed Shah Reza Pahlavi, who on September 16 was forced to transfer the throne to his son Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. The British troops lost 22 killed and 50 wounded, as well as 1 tank. The losses of the Soviet troops amounted to about 50 killed, about 100 wounded and up to 4 thousand sick and 3 aircraft? Iranian losses are estimated at about 800 military personnel, including Admiral Bayandor, and about 200 civilians who died during the bombing of Gilan by Soviet aircraft, as well as more than 7 thousand prisoners in battles against the Red Army alone. Iran also lost 6 aircraft and 2 patrol ships. Another 4 patrol ships were damaged.

## Belgian losses

The losses of the Belgian army in the fight against the Wehrmacht amounted to 8.8 thousand killed, 500 missing, who should be counted among the dead, 200 subjected to the death penalty, 1.8 thousand died in captivity and 800 died in the resistance movement. In addition, according to R. Overmans, about 10 thousand Belgians died in the ranks of the German armed forces<sup>333</sup>. This assessment seems to us too high.

(VER://ihilig.smgas.ota/zeags/neteeg 4eaP\$.aprx?setcheu=2014801 &to4de=1) 335 MacKeple Sotryup. Eazerp Ep's. Hop4opt: SBava & MLYapadi\$, 1951. ý136.

336 Lyubin D.M. The entry of Soviet troops into Northern Iran in the summer - autumn of 1941: military necessity or political calculation // Iran and Russia. M., IlliBV, 2004. S. 116.

337 Yeghishat Sgedogu . Rorwayop Svapdez w Eigore Eshse 1939. G.op4op: APen & Chpuyi, 1951. P 44.

338 Ouertapi\$ V@deg . Beissie shiizsve Uega\$e pa 7mecep Meikches. 5.230.

339 Müller-Hillebrand B . Land Army of Germany, 1933-1945. S. 420.

The fact is that on January 31, 1944, there were only 6,845 natives of Belgium (5,033 Flemings and 1,812 Walloons) in the German army. And before that time, only a few hundred Walloons and Flemings could die. After January 1944, there were few volunteers from Belgium in the SS troops. And even if we assume that all the natives of Belgium who served in the German army died, their number would hardly have reached 10 thousand people. Meanwhile, according to official Russian data, out of 2014 natives of Belgium, 181 people died in Soviet captivity?<sup>334</sup>!. But, in addition to 1833 Belgians who returned from Soviet captivity, a significant number of Belgian SS surrendered to the Western allies, and some, like the leader of the far-right Rexist party, the commander of the 28th SS Wallonia division, Leon Degrel, managed to emigrate. On January 31, 1944, there were 2.7 times more natives of Holland in the German army (18,473 people) than natives of Belgium. Meanwhile, R. Overmans also describes the loss of the Dutch in the German army at 10 thousand people. If we accept that this last estimate is close to reality, then the number of Belgians who died in the German army can be estimated at 3.7 thousand people. Belgian civilian losses amounted to 32.2 thousand victims of hostilities in 1940 and 1944-1945, 16.9 thousand victims of Nazi terror, including up to 500 gypsies, and 24,387 Jews killed by the Nazis as part of the Holocaust? .

Thus, the losses of Belgium can be estimated at 89.3 thousand people, of which about 15.8 thousand are military personnel.

## Losses of the Netherlands (Holland)

The losses of the Dutch army in battles with the Germans in 1940 amounted to 2.2 thousand people. Another 1.7 thousand resistance fighters died during the German occupation. The Dutch navy lost 2.6 thousand people dead. In addition, 250 Dutch soldiers died in German captivity. In the Battle of the Atlantic, 1,350 sailors of the Dutch merchant fleet from among the Dutch and another 1,650 representatives of other nationalities died on ships sunk by German submarines. The latter are not included by us in the composition of the Dutch losses? "3. In addition, about 900 people died in the battles against Japan.

340 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198.

341 Yegitkt Sgedogu . Roranop SVapdez sh Eigore 5shtse 1939. R, 44; Let's sleep, Magit. AChaz oYo {Be Ho| osach\$(. R. 244; Ropa1la Kepamsk, Tpe Bezetu oE Epgore'\$ Surchez. M.U.: Ba\$1s Vok\$ 1972. R. 184.

342 Carzzep, [or her Nagtzepe, Sage]. 210 Chi12epa ooto9\$5]aschoEerz // Veyo taz hepa\$. Zfanzizsv Kuatsaa aa oyer  
ae aetodgaNe yap Medeyapa4. JDaagdapd 55. 4th Katschaa1 2007. Woograga/Neeeeeep: Setotaa! Vigeats voog ae Zbjs Nek, 2007. 5.5. 53-55.

343 Egetu R., Egetu M . Ohm. Raz: GaNop\, 1996. R. 1275.

Dutch soldiers<sup>3</sup>", and about 8,000 of the 37,000 Dutch

prisoners of war died in Japanese captivity?"?. According to R. Overmans, about 10 thousand Dutch people died in the German army. In Soviet captivity, according to official Russian data, there were 4,730 Dutchmen, of whom 200 people died\*." The losses of the civilian population of Holland amounted to 7.5 thousand dead or missing in forced labor in Germany (in total, 27 thousand Dutch were taken out for forced labor), 2.8 thousand executed by the German occupation authorities, 2.5 thousand Dutch, died in concentration camps in Holland, 18 thousand died in concentration camps in Germany, 20.4 thousand died from Anglo-American bombing and as a result of ground fighting, and 16 thousand died as a result of the famine of the winter of 1944/45. Did 104,000 Dutch Jews become victims of the Holocaust?"8. As a result of the gypsy genocide, 500 Dutch citizens were killed." In addition, in Indonesia (Dutch Indies), out of more than 100 thousand interned Europeans from among civilians, 14.8 thousand people died, mostly Dutch<sup>3</sup>. These losses are included by us in the losses of Indonesia. According to Dutch data, only 3.7 thousand Dutch died in the German army. "This is almost three times lower than R. Overmans' estimate, but the latter seems to me much closer to reality. Probably, the difference between 10 thousand and 3.7 thousand was formed at the expense of those 7,500 Dutchmen who are considered missing while in Germany. It can be assumed that at least 6,300 of them actually joined the German army, mainly the SS troops and died on Eastern Front or



344 Pschs ap AchzbtaTsap zeglsetep Sh saryuTsu // AputaNap UMag Metopa1| (Vir:// or'.amlol.dou.ach/ex M op\$/aChestauer\$Ky/rtg1zopegz/sarnuu.azr).

345 Ouerman\$ V. Reissve nPia/issie Vleyae pp 7metskep MekKnech. 5. 230, {ab. 33.

346 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512 tab. 198.

347 Carzzep, [or her Nagtzepp, Sage]. 210 ChitepYa ot1od\$z]aschoyer\$. 5.5. 5Z\_5B.

There is also a higher estimate of the victims of the famine in Belgium - 18 thousand people (Van aeg

Gee, Nepy A. Thie Nipdeg Uyashcheg: Ossireyaa NoPapa 1944-1945, Oshuetgzu oYo Mega\$Ka Prez\$, 1998.R. 304-305).

348 KepapsKk Ropa!A . TVe Bestu oYo Eigore'\$ Surze\$z. R. 183. 349 A.M. R. 170.

350 Carszep, [or her Nagtzepp, Sage]. 210 ai:hepa ooPodzasSho#eegs. 5.5. 53-55.

351 At that moment, 2399 Danes, 1180 Finns, 1883 Norwegians, 39 Swedes and 135 Swiss and Liechtensteiners were also in the SS troops Jez sh Umoya Mag P // Tie H1@4en apa Bothy Adept H1\$ogu o! Ta La ipaer 5o\ef apa Ma71 ossirayopz 1940-1991 (Zutschrozgalt oYo Te Sott115 \$10 oYo Fe N1\$[opapz oYo Gala. \o1. 14) / E1da: food oYo Te N15fogu oYo Gala, 2005. P. 125). We believe that this source made a typo in the number

of Flemings - 15,721, while it should be 5,721. The presence of almost 16,000 Flemings in the SS troops by the end of

1941 seems incredible.

Soviet captivity. The remaining 1,200 Dutchmen who went missing in Germany were probably the victims of Anglo-American bombing raids. In 1941, by the time of the German attack on the USSR, according to the German Foreign Ministry, there were even slightly more Flemings in the SS troops than the Dutch - respectively 5721 and 481435. But on January 31, 1944, there were 18,473 Dutchmen in the German army, which was in 2.7 times more than the number of inhabitants of Belgium (5033 Flemings and 1812 Walloons) 33. This was due to the relatively large influx of Dutch volunteers. With this in mind, the number of Dutch dead in the German army should be about 2.7 times greater than the number of Belgian dead. If R. Overmans' estimate of 10 thousand Belgians who died in the ranks of the German army was correct, then the number of Dutch people should have been about 27 thousand people, which would be one and a half times the number of Dutch in the SS troops on January 31, 1944. And before January 31, 1944, only a few hundred Dutch could die. Therefore, we believe that approximately 10 thousand Dutch people died in the German army.

In total, the losses of Holland are estimated by us at 193.4 thousand people, including 25,650 military personnel, of which approximately 10 thousand died,

fighting on the German side.

#### Losses of Luxembourg

The losses of Luxembourg are estimated at 5 thousand people, of which about 3 thousand died in the German army (since Luxembourg was annexed by Germany, the Luxembourgers served mainly in the Wehrmacht, and not in the SS troops), and 200 - in the Belgian army?" ". In total, 10.2 thousand Luxembourgers were drafted into the German army? In Soviet captivity, according to 1956, there were 1653 Luxembourgers, of whom 93 people died? However, according to the beginning of 1949, 1660 Luxembourgers were in Soviet captivity, of which 92 had died by that time. It can be assumed that 1 out of 2 Luxembourgers remaining at that time in the POW camps died before 1956. The difference between 1653 and 1660 was obviously formed by 5 Luxembourgers transferred to the Gulag and 2 Luxembourgers transferred to civilian internment camps." Losses of civilians - 1800 people - fall on

352 Müller-Hillebrand B . Land Army of Germany, 1933-1945. P. 420. 353 ERGITA Sgedogu. Rorujanop Spadez\$ w Echgore 5Eshse 1939. P 107.

354 Yedeg Srisurweg. Gahet'o'nga sh My U'ag Tuto. Twe Tshu RasVu {Fa+{ Boage4 Ada11\$\* Segtapu // 15.5) 20, 2008, blp:// mgigi'. for Ke1 01 .sot / sotset / Lahetjoiga-t-mgoP9-mgag-(\go-a45016

355 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512 tab. 198.

356 Prisoners of war, 1939-1956. S. 176.

357 SIBeg Magip . AChaz oYo Fe But] osach1. R. 244.

victims of German repression. Does this number include 700 Jews? and 200 gypsies???, as well as 57 executed members of the resistance movement?@.

#### Swiss losses

60 Swiss citizens died in the resistance movement in France?'. R. Overmans estimates the number of Swiss citizens who died in the German armed forces at 300 people? 6b?. Taking into account the fact that by January 31, 1944, there were still 584 Swiss in the SS troops?53, and the total number of Swiss in the German army is estimated at 700-800 people, the death toll could be 200-300 people. We prefer an average estimate of 250 people. After all, the proportion of deaths among the Swiss was higher than among the German soldiers. The last Swiss volunteers entered the German army in 1942, while a significant part of the Germans were called up only in 1945. In addition, almost all the Swiss served in combat units, and the German SS units participated in the battle more intensively than the Wehrmacht formations. These two factors probably override the effect of the factor that some of the wounded Swiss returned to their homeland and

no longer participated in the battles. 205 Swiss were in Soviet captivity, of whom by the beginning of 1949 175 people were repatriated, 22 people died, 4 were recognized as civilian prisoners, and another 4 remained in prisoner of war camps?

In 1940, during the Battle of France, the Luftwaffe repeatedly violated Swiss airspace and several aircraft were shot down by Swiss fighters and air defense guns. Anglo-American aviation repeatedly bombed Switzerland in 1943-1945. At least 67 civilians were killed during these raids. In a battle with the American "flying fortress" 1 pilot of a Swiss fighter was killed. As compensation, the US government

paid Switzerland in 1944 and 1949 about \$18.4 million<sup>200</sup>.

358 Kapaish Ropa/4. Tje Reznpu oE Eigore\$ Surz1ez. R, 183. 359 Edeg SvizyurvVeg. GakhETFotga sh UM/oyA M'ag Tukhgo.

360 Bonnie A. Gean ae 1a deihte dlegge top 1ae // Veuie 4e agoy p\egpayopa! 4e sepses 41p] otayachiez ee roynayez, 1945, # 3. P 10 (Quoted from: Uralnis B.Ts. Wars and the population of Europe. P. 240).

361 Ouertapp \$ V. Rezhschzve shPtsa [Pg15spe Ueya \$e pp 7mecep Meykchesd. 5. 230, {ab. 33.

362 Müller-Hillebrand B. Land Army of Germany 1933-1945. P. 420. 363 Prisoners of war, 1939-1956. S. 176.

364 NetgesvV opa pap E. TVe P1ryutasu o { Haro] ode: 1.5. Here is \$ 19 OE 5mlthepapa aigtod Mom MVar P // Aegosrase Po\here] oigpa] - Zichteg 2000, \o1. HSU Mo. 2.R 91-107.

365 RgishAt, Sgedogu . Rorwayop Spapdes w Eogore zshse 1939. P 60-65; Egetu 2., Egetu M . Osh. Rashz: Ga op 1996. R 795 (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the twentieth century. P. 53); ESH5 ort. My \M/ag P - A %\$ay\$Yasa! zigueu M.U.: Race\$

We estimate the total losses of Switzerland at 378 people, of which 311 are military personnel.

French losses

The losses of the French army in 1939-1940, during the battle for France, amounted to 123 thousand killed and died from wounds and up to 250 thousand wounded. About 20,000 members of the resistance movement died, and about 40,000 of the 1,405,000 French prisoners of war died in German captivity<sup>3b</sup>. To these losses must be added the victims of the Franco-Thai war in Indochina. French losses in this war amounted to 321 killed or wounded, 178 missing, 222 captured. Assuming that at least half of the missing are among those killed and that the ratio between the number of killed and wounded,

as on the Thai side, it was close to 1:3, then the total number of French dead can be estimated at 140 people. In addition, during clashes with the Japanese in 1940 and 1945, up to 250,000 people, mostly military, died. The total losses of the French army in Indochina can be estimated at 3 thousand dead. The troops of the Vichy government in clashes with American troops in North Africa in November 1942, as well as in other clashes with the Anglo-American troops and with the troops of the "Free French" of General Charles de Gaulle, lost 26,530 people dead, including 13,680 people during landings of American troops in North Africa in November 1942. Losses of American troops amounted to 453 people<sup>77</sup>. The losses of free French troops during the fighting in Africa amounted to about 19,500 people, during the campaign in Italy in 1943-1945 - 8.7 thousand dead and during the fighting on the Western Front - 12.6 thousand people<sup>78</sup>.

French soldiers also died as part of the German army. These were both natives of Alsace and Lorraine mobilized into the Wehrmacht, attached to the Reich, and French volunteers who served in the French legion on the Eastern Front, deployed at the end of the war to the 33rd SS division "Charlemagne". Does R. Overmans estimate the number of victims among conscripts from Alsace-Lorraine in the Wehrmacht at 30 thousand people? <sup>69</sup>. Since we believe his estimate of German military losses to be overestimated by 1.3 times, the most likely number of dead natives of Alsace and Lorraine in 23 thousand people seems to us. Except

op ERS, 1993. P. 255.

366 Co@e[eg MPsvea! . \UM\atPage an agte@ con s 5: a  
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o{peg Volgez, 1618-1991. R 582; Zampeg GTap, WapuSheg, Megapso1\$. Tve Egeps Agtu 1939-1945. Proe EgepsV,  
Vata

Egepsb apa {de Agtu oYo Gegaop. Gopdop: Ozrgau RaB1\$Ytd, 1998.R 12.

367 EUR Govp . My MVag P - A %aN\$sa|| zigueu M.U.: Race \$ op RPe, 1993. P. 255.

368 Ouermapp\$ V. Veschze pipca [zsve Uletase pp 7meCep MeKched. 5. 228, Tab. 32.

369 Pobres Pvorege. Eog Eogore: Tve Egepsv Uotsitscheegs oYo She \Umaeep-55. Neuop & Sotrapu, 2006. P. 15.

In addition, 64,250 French volunteers served in the Wehrmacht, and then in the SS troops. About 2,640 more people joined the Charlemagne division from the German Navy, the Todt organization and the National Socialist Automobile Corps, so that the total number of French volunteers was about 9 thousand people. The number of dead among them is estimated between July 1941 and May 1943 at 169 killed and 550 wounded. By September 1, 1944, the total number of those killed had risen to 400. In September, all French volunteers were assembled in the Charlemagne division. At the end of February and in March 1945, the division took part in heavy fighting in Pomerania, where about 4.8 thousand legionnaires died or were captured. Approximately 300 more French SS men died or were captured in

Berlin in April - May 3". Assuming the death toll in Pomerania to be one-third of the total number of killed and captured, and the death toll in Berlin to half, the total number of French dead in the last battles of 1945 can be estimated at 1,750 people, and the total number of dead and dead from wounds of the French SS - in 2150 people. The remnants of the Charlemagne division, outside of Berlin, surrendered to the Western Allies. In Soviet captivity, according to official Russian data, there were 23,136 Frenchmen, of which 1,325 people died in captivity? Of this number, at least 1,010 were listed as Alsatians. Of these, by the beginning of 1949, 5 people had died, and the rest were repatriated. At the same time, the actual French in Soviet captivity was taken into account 22,115 people. Of these, 20,762 people had already been repatriated by the beginning of 1949, 1 was sent to form national French units, 1 was placed in prison, 1 left for other reasons, 21 people still remained in prisoner-of-war camps, and 1329 prisoners died? . Together with the Alsatians, it turns out 1334 French citizens who died in Soviet captivity - 9 more than according to official data in 1956.

The losses of the civilian population of France include the victims of German repressions, as well as the victims of the repressions of the French authorities in 1944-1945. The total number of victims of hostilities in France among the civilian population is estimated at 125 thousand people. This includes both the victims of ground battles and the German bombing of 1940 - 58 thousand people, and the victims of the Anglo-American bombing - 67 thousand people. In addition, up to 230 thousand French citizens became victims of Nazi repression? Of this number, the number of victims of the Gypsy genocide in France is estimated at 15 thousand people?", And the victims of the Holocaust in France - at 73.5 thousand Jews (out of 76 thousand deported Jews in France

370 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512 tab. 198.

371 POWs, 1939-1956. S. 176.

372 YegitKt Sgedogu . RoruaNop SVapdez w Epgore 5shse 1939.R 60-65

373 KepapsK Ropa4 . TVe Without that oh Eigore\$ Surz1ez\$. M.U.: Vaz1s BookK\$z, 1972.R 184.

374 TiskKeg 5repseg; RoBeg5, Ru5sSha Matu apa olerz. Epsusure a og MopA \MVag P: A PoPyasa1, 50s1a1, apa MPkagu N15totu. Zatz Bargaga, CaPyo: ABC-SSHMO, 2005. P. 468.

no more than 2.5 thousand survived) 3". There is also a higher figure of the dead Jews of France - 83 thousand people<sup>35</sup>. Perhaps this includes not only French Jews, but also emigrants from Germany and other countries.

The number of persons executed for collaborationism or killed without trial on suspicion of collaborationism is estimated at 10 thousand people? Of these, only 3,784 people were executed by court sentences?<sup>38</sup>

We estimate the total number of French citizens who died during World War II at 602.3 thousand people, of which about 237.3 thousand people perished in the military, including resistance fighters. Of the total number of the French military, approximately 28.1 thousand died fighting on the side of the Axis powers. According to V.V. Erlikhman, in

As part of the French troops in World War II, about 6.5 thousand inhabitants of the French African colonies, primarily Moroccans and Senegalese, died<sup>3</sup>. Taking this into account, the victims of the population of France itself can be estimated at 595.8 thousand people. The losses of the French colonial troops are probably divided roughly equally between the countries of French North Africa and those of French West Africa.

#### Losses of Tunisia

During the bombing of Tunisia by Anglo-American aircraft in 1942-1943, 752 civilians were killed? \* °.

#### Spanish losses

The Blue Division, made up of Spanish volunteers, fought on the Eastern Front as the 250th Wehrmacht Division and showed high combat capability, being sent home in October 1943, after the capitulation of Italy. This division was formed in gratitude to Germany for the participation of the German volunteer aviation legion "Condor" in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 on the side of the troops of General Franco. About

375 SIBeg Magip/ AChaz oYo Te HoJosaiz+. R 244.

376 TiskKeg 5repseg; RoBege5, Ru5sSha Matu apa o#erz . Epsusore a oYo MopA MVag P: A Ropyasa1, 50os1a1, apa MPkagu N15totu. Zatz Bargaga, CaPyo: ABC-SSHMO, 2005. P. 466.

377 Rtetu O. Egetu M . Ozl4. Rush: HaNog\, 1996. P. 799 (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the twentieth century. P. 53).

378 Erlikhman V.V. Population loss in the 20th century. S. 84.

379 Azhmensop EISK . Ap Agtu a{ Pamt: Te Mag sh Mo Ayolsa, 1942-1943. M.U.: Znpop apa osrazeg, R. 478.

380 Liga4o Ca oz SaBaPego . Vshe Pt\z1op Z01Cher 1941-45: brother Washcheeg ope Eazerp Him. Meznit eg: Ozrgeu RaBlz ta GA, 2009. RL 8.

45 thousand Spaniards?'. Actually, the 250th division lost, according to some

estimated about 4.5 thousand dead? In total, during the fighting, the "blue division" and other Spanish units that continued to fight in 1944-1945 lost 4957 killed and died from wounds and diseases (the latter was about 1.5 thousand) and 8766 wounded. The loss of the "blue division" itself as missing amounted to 326. In addition,

the loss of the sick amounted to 8.4 thousand people, and frostbitten - 1.5 thousand people. 2 thousand wounded and sick became invalids?3. Almost all of the missing were in Soviet captivity. Soviet losses in the battles against the 250th division, its former commander, General Emilio Esteban-Infantes, estimated at 32 thousand killed, wounded and missing on the Leningrad front and 14 thousand on the Volkhov front?"". After the recall of the division, the Spanish Legion of 1,800 people remained, sent home at the end of March 1944, and about 700 more Spanish volunteers continued to fight as part of the 6th SS Mountain Division Nord and in other formations of the SS troops. In total, 452 Spaniards from the "blue division" and the "Nord" division were in Soviet captivity, of which 70 people died in captivity? According to Spanish data, the loss of Spanish troops on the Eastern Front as prisoners of war amounted to 464 people, and the number of deaths could reach 130. However, according to the Spaniards, about 70 of the prisoners were actually defectors? The defectors who survived in captivity after the war could remain in the USSR or move to another country. Most likely, the figure of 130 who did not return from captivity includes not only the dead, but also about 50 deserters who did not want to return to Spain. If this is so, then it is quite possible that 82 Spaniards died in captivity, since 12 people, on whom Russian official statistics underestimate the total number of Spanish prisoners, most likely died in captivity. Note that the figure of 464 captured Spaniards is confirmed in Soviet documents. According to the certificate of the GUPVI of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs dated January 28, 1949, by the beginning of this year, 464 Spaniard prisoners of war were taken into account, of which 78 were repatriated by that time, 1 was recognized as a civilian prisoner and transferred to an internment camp, 1 fled, 13 were transferred to prisons, 67 died and 304 remained in POW camps?".

381 SoaEeeEeg McWea! ... M'arPage ap arte4 con sz: a zasa] geRegepse fo sazzaTsu ap4 about Teg Yadige\$, 1618-1991. R 515.

382 Ligao Ca oz SaBaPego . Above Pt\z1op Z01Cheg 1941-45: brother Uopishcheeg ope Eachegp Gogot\ . R. 43.

383 EzeBap-t@apEe\$ E. Ga 015101 Ata (4op4e Az1a etshrleta). Barceopa, 1956. RSh 61, 95. 384 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the 20th century. S. 512, tab. 198.

385 Ligao Ca oz SaBaPego . Vshe Ptz1op ZoCher 1941-45: brother Uoscheeg op Be Eachegp Egot. R. 56.

386 Prisoners of war, 1939-1956. S. 175.

387 syu Zlyumso ChePo Z{ayu Mado1loge Che! zetsio. Sotiuzzamayu depegae S.S.

Probably, the difference of 12 people was formed at the expense of those who were transferred to prisons. It is possible that 12 out of 13 of these people died.

The total losses of Spain in World War II can be estimated at 5 thousand dead military personnel. In addition, about 100 thousand Spanish

workers worked in Germany and in the territories occupied by German troops, where some of them could die from Allied bombing. Also, a number of Spanish sailors of the merchant fleet could die on ships sunk during the battle for the Atlantic and in the Mediterranean. However, there are no figures for these victims. A significant number of Spanish emigrants who left the country after the victory of General Franco fought in the armies of the countries of the Anti-Hitler coalition, and many of them died. However, they were not residents of Spain at the beginning of World War II, and the survivors could not return to Spain after the end of the war. Therefore, we have taken into account their losses in the losses of the countries of the Anti-Hitler coalition. In the same way, the losses of the Spanish legionnaires in Russia were taken into account by us as part of the losses of the German armed forces.

#### Italian losses

According to official Italian figures, before the truce concluded on September 8, 1943, the Italian armed forces, excluding the losses of local soldiers of the colonial army, lost 66,686 killed and died of wounds, 111,579 missing and died in captivity and 26,081 died of disease, and a total of 204,346 dead. After the armistice, losses were 42,916 killed and died of wounds, 19,840 missing and died in captivity, 24,274 died of disease, for a total of 87,030 dead. By type of armed forces, irretrievable losses are distributed as follows: land army - 201,405 dead, navy - 22,034, air force - 9096, colonial troops - 354, military priests - 96, fascist militia (blackshirts) - 10,066, paramilitary formations - 3252, not defined - 45,078 people. According to the theaters of operations, the losses of the Italian armed forces are distributed as follows: Italy - 74,725 (including 37,573 after the armistice), France - 2060 (1039 people after the armistice), Germany - 25,430 (24,020 after the armistice - this is mainly about those who died in prisoner of war camps), in Greece, Albania and Yugoslavia 45,459 (10,090 after the armistice), in the USSR - 82,079 (3,522 after the armistice), in Africa - 22,341 (1565 after the armistice), at sea - 28,438 (5526 after armistice), other and unspecified 6844 (3695 after armistice). In addition, after the armistice, 5927 people died in Italian formations fighting on the side of the Anglo-American allies, and 13 thousand people died in the army of the Italian Social Republic, who fought on the side of Germany, and in the 29th Italian SS division. Also 17,488 partisans died in the Italian resistance movement<sup>78</sup>. In Soviet captivity, out of 48,957 Italians, 27,683 died

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388 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198.

person?. In total, about 4 million people served in the Italian army.

From the point of view of the ratio of losses, the Italian troops acted rather inefficiently. So, for example, during the battle for France, the Italians began the offensive only on June 20 and in 6 days of fighting,



lasting until June 25, lost 631 killed and 816 missing, of which 390 people were killed, as well as 2631 wounded and 2151 frostbite%. French casualties were only 37.

The loss of the civilian population of Italy amounted to 153,147 people (123,119 after the armistice). Of this number, 61,432 (42,613 after the armistice) died as a result of the bombing by Anglo-American aircraft. 36 thousand civilian casualties after the truce were women. Italian statistics also include partisan casualties in civilian casualties<sup>3</sup>?. The remainder of the civilian casualties are mainly due to reprisals by the German occupation authorities and those killed in ground fighting and on the scuttled Italian ships. Also included are fascists and supporters of the Italian Social Republic of Benito Mussolini killed by partisans, mainly after the surrender of German troops in Italy on April 29, 1945. Holocaust victims in Italy amounted to 8,562 people<sup>3-3</sup>. Approximately 1,000 Italian citizens became victims of the gypsy genocide<sup>4</sup>“.

We estimate the total losses of Italy at 463.4 thousand people, of which 327.8 thousand are military losses, including the losses of Italian Resistance fighters. It should be noted that a significant part of the partisans were former soldiers of the Italian army, who managed to avoid disarmament and internment by the German troops. At least 23.4 thousand Italians died fighting on the side of the Anti-Hitler coalition.

#### Losses of Malta

Maltese civilian casualties from air raids

389 omen RYSHr, Khdoppsch OYutygtu. TVe TsaNap Agtu ayo U'ag Yeogore 1940-43. T.opaon: Sopsoga Workshops\$ Soshrapu, 2003. R. 3.

390 Tiskeg 5repseg; WoBetz Ri5sSha Magu apa wrong \$ . Epsusore Cha oYo Mot \UVar P: A Rosa], 5os1a1, apa MPKagu N1zfogu. R. 632.

391 C/e! Rapa A Vgattope Ea, Sazesh, SgalePa. Tpe ees (\$ oÿ uhag 1035e5 op shoga Shu eZita {ez Rog Tsa [u a Vg \$ abetr! // Rethodhartschs Bezeerst, mu - Resetger 2005, \a1. 13, #15. RR 363-388; 5Efo Setigae 41 ZbaYa\$Isa... Mogi e  
415 regse reg saise BeShve ped app! 1940-45. Here: sho Seshtgae 41 Szaizsa, 1957. Taye 1-1.

392 SIBeg Magit . ANaz oYo Fe Ho] ocaiz. R. 244. 393 Kepamsk Ropa/4. R, 184.

394 SoaEee! er MGsVea! . UMMagPage ap agtei con1c{5: a for \$Isa1 geGegepse +0 saziaku apa  
o{neg Jadtgges, 1618-1991. R. 585.

German-Italian aviation is estimated at 1.5 thousand people. 14 thousand bombs were dropped on the island, about 30 thousand buildings were destroyed and damaged. The relatively small number of victims is due to the fact that the population of the capital, La Valletta, and three other cities of the island were evacuated to the countryside.

#### Losses of Ethiopia (Abyssinia, Italian East Africa)

In 1935-1936, Ethiopia was occupied by Italy and transformed into the colony of Italian East Africa along with Italian Somalia and Eritrea. This annexation was not recognized by many countries. After the latter entered the Second World War in June 1940, the guerrilla movement of supporters of the Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie intensified in Ethiopia. Outside the cities, Italian troops did not control Ethiopian territory. After the initial successes of the Italian troops in British Somalia, they began to retreat under the onslaught of the British colonial troops, as well as parts of the Free French and Free Belgium, operating from the territory of the French and Belgian colonies. The commander-in-chief and viceroy of Italian East Africa, Marshal Duke Amedeo Aosta, continued to resist until May 18, 1941, when the 7,000th Italian contingent under his command was forced to agree to an honorable surrender in the Ethiopian fortress of Amba Aladza. In November 1941, the remaining Italian army in Ethiopia, deprived of supplies from the mother country, was forced to capitulate. More than 40 thousand people surrendered, led by General Juliemo Nasi. In total, up to 230 thousand Italian soldiers were captured, mainly from the colonial troops. Scattered detachments of Italians from among the local colonists and the few Italian soldiers who escaped captivity waged a guerrilla war until the general Italian surrender on September 9, 1943. The Italian army consisted of 74 thousand Italian soldiers and 182 thousand Eritreans, Somalis and Ethiopians. Most of the Italian colonial formations were newly created irregular units (gangs), which were distinguished by a very LOW combat capability. British troops and their Ethiopian allies had well over 250,000 men, mostly colonial soldiers from Nigeria, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, South Africa, British West Africa, British East Africa, Sudan, British Somalia, as well as from India and the British Mandatory Palestine. The losses of the Italian troops amounted to 6 thousand killed, the losses of the British troops - up to 4 thousand killed. According to British, perhaps exaggerated data, 278.5 thousand Italian soldiers were taken prisoner. It is possible that this number also includes support staff (porters, mule drivers, etc.). Fighters

395 /omeNn Ryshr . Tje TzaNap Agtu 1940-45 (2): Ayoisa 1940-43. Ueznyashfeg: Ozrgeu, 2001.

R. 4-5; Tiskeg 5repseg; VoBeg, RissSha Magu apa o! Sheers. Epsus1oreChM1a oYo My A \ M \ / ar P: A PoPYasa], 5os! a1, apa

Micagu N! \$ ogu. Zata VagBaga, SaSh.: ABC-STTO, 2005. R 400. There is also a higher estimate of the losses of the Italian colonial troops killed at 10 thousand people (Oe! Vosa, Apde] o, Tpe E yorlap \ gag. Otikh. oE SSHMSado Prgez \$ 1969. P.109.

colonial troops were sent home. During the fighting in Somalia in 1940, Italian casualties in killed and missing were 2,052 and British casualties were 250. In 1941, in the most fierce battle for Keren in February - March, the Italian troops lost up to 3 thousand killed and wounded, and the British - 500 killed and 3229 wounded. The loss of British troops during the fighting in the area of the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa in March - April amounted to about 500 killed and wounded. The only Ethiopian "part of Gideon" numbering 1,600 people, led by Emperor Haile Selassie, who returned to the country, took part in these battles. In subsequent battles in 1941, the losses of the allies also amounted to about 500 people killed and wounded<sup>75</sup>.

The losses of the Italian colonial troops can be estimated at 4.3 thousand people. Of this number, probably up to 3 thousand are Ethiopians and Eritreans. The losses of the Ethiopian and Somali irregulars fighting on the British side were negligible. Perhaps somewhat more significant losses were suffered by the British Somali formations - up to 200 people. We estimate the losses of Ethiopia (including Eritrea, annexed to Ethiopia in 1952) at 3 thousand people, the losses of the Somali tribes (after the war, in 1960, British and Italian Somalia united into a single state) - at 1.5 thousand people.

According to official Ethiopian data, in total, 760 thousand people died in the war against Italy in 1935-1941<sup>77</sup>, but this figure seems to be many times exaggerated. It must also be borne in mind that the bulk of the losses occurred during active hostilities in 1935-1936.

#### Albanian losses

Albanian losses, both military and civilian, were estimated after the war by the United Nations Relief and Reconstruction Organization at 30 thousand people<sup>78</sup>. In Albania, about 200 Jews were killed by the Nazis. All of them were citizens of Yugoslavia. According to official Albanian data, 28.8 thousand Albanians died in battles with the German-Italian occupiers in 1939-1944.<sup>79</sup> This figure probably includes the losses of the Albanian army during the short Albanian-Italian war in April.

<sup>396</sup> Peoples of Africa. M.: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1954. S. 377.

<sup>397</sup> Afasha: and mix the backside E4ega|1 Vezeagsv P!\$1op, Gagagu oÿ Condtges\$ / E4. Boo Whatopa E. 74ske! apa M/aCeg V. GlazKtm. 214 ea4. 1994

(Bir:/Lsmer? .10s.40%/S91 1 /segu/g?Era/szvau:@Yaela%2820STR+a10033%29). <sup>398</sup> SiBeg Magit . AChaz oYo Fe But] osap \$%. Ohta: {Ve Regdatop Pros\$, 1988. P. 244.

<sup>399</sup> Urlanis B.Ts. Wars and the population of Europe. S. 236. Quoted here: Pravda, 19477, November 10.

400 9.5. Vigeai oYo {Te Cepziz Tie Rorshanop oYo UpdoZa\ a Ea. Ratz E. Meuerz apa Artag A. Carter, M'aztofof, 1954. P. 23.

1939, as well as the loss of the partisans of the anti-communist National Front (Baly kombtar), who until the autumn of 1943 fought together with the communist partisans of Enver Hoxha against the Italian troops until the autumn of 1943, and after the Italian capitulation went over to the side of the German troops who landed in the country, since Germany declared the formal independence of Albania. Perhaps this also includes the losses of the 12,000th Albanian army, which participated in the 1940-1941 war of Italy against Greece. Estimates of Albanian civilian casualties vary.

#### Yugoslav losses

The losses of Yugoslavia in the Second World War during the time of Tito were officially estimated at 1,706 thousand dead and died of starvation and disease. However, the American Bureau of the Census in 1954 estimated Yugoslavia's military losses at 1,067,000 dead. At the same time, American statisticians argued that the official Yugoslav figure significantly overstates the size of the losses, since it was announced after the war and did not take into account the data of the post-war population census """. Croatian researcher Vladimir Zheryavych, after analyzing the data of the 1921, 1931 and 1948 censuses, believes that the American estimate is too high and the actual death toll is 1027 thousand people ""?.

According to Russian official figures, 21,830 natives of Yugoslavia, mostly Croats, ended up in Soviet captivity. Of these, 1476 people died." A Bosnian researcher of Serbian origin, Bogoljub Kožović, also using data from the pre-war and post-war censuses of Yugoslavia, estimates war losses at 1,014,000 dead. According to his data, based on an official estimate in 1964, in Bosnia and Herzegovina of those whose names were known, 177,045 people died during the war years, and 49,242 were injured. For Serbia (excluding Vojvodina and Kosovo), the corresponding figures were 97,728 and 123,818; for Vojvodina, 41,370 and 66,957; for Kosovo, 7927 and 13,960; for Montenegro, 16,903 and 14,136; 220, for Macedonia - 19,076 and 32,374, for Slovenia - 40,791 and 101,929, and 1,744 killed and 2,214 wounded could not be distributed among the republics. The total number of those victims of the war in Yugoslavia, whose names were known in 1964, was 597,323 killed and 509,849 wounded. These lists were drawn up at the request of the German government to calculate payments due to Yugoslavia. In addition, according to the Yugoslav government, there were another 150-180 thousand dead, whose names could not be established due to the destruction of entire families and even villages in mountainous areas, as well as due to the post-war emigration of those relatives and acquaintances

401 Begau with lMaatt. Wado\$1a\1a shatrijaHot\$ myth Fe piter Zesopa Mopa M/ar y!1cum1\$. Khadge: SgoanChap Tprorgtalop set(er, 1993 (Vlr://mli.s.Vt/Book\$Ltat1 ria vot5/).

402 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198.

403 Kosom 6, Vodotsab-VBikhe Ogadod zu@\$Code gaea and ja90\$1au\1j1. Gopop: Maze eo, 1990. 5.5. 172-189.

who could report on these dead. Thus, we could talk about 750-780 thousand dead "ow". This figure covers only those who died in the fight against the German-Italian-Bulgarian occupiers and their local allies. V. Zheryavich added to this number about 200 thousand victims among collaborators and received a figure of losses as a result of hostilities and repressions. This figure can be increased to 234 thousand, if we take the total figure of the dead inhabitants of Yugoslavia at 1014 thousand people.

V. Zheryavich also cited the national composition of 597,323 dead, whose names were established:

Serbs - 346,740  
Croats - 83,257  
Slovenes - 42,027  
Macedonians - 6,724  
Montenegrins - 16,726  
Muslim Bosnians - 32,300 Jews - 45,000

Turks - 686.

Albanians - 3241.  
Hungarians - 2680.  
Slovaks - 1160.  
Unknowns - 16,202.

In our opinion, in reality, the number of 597,323 dead quite fully reflects the victims of the peoples of Yugoslavia in the struggle against the German-Italian-Bulgarian occupiers and their local accomplices, and it does not need to be increased by 150-180 thousand supposedly underestimated victims. After all, the 1964 census itself was aimed at maximizing the number of victims, and in the hope of reparation payments, people tried to name the maximum number of victims. The possible underestimation was probably insignificant and was compensated by double counting of the same persons, including due to the different spelling of the surnames of the same persons. It seems to us that the casualties among the fighters of the collaborationist formations, the victims of the Anglo-American air raids, the casualties among the civilian population caused by the actions of Tito's partisans, as well as the excess deaths caused by epidemics and famine, which were 430 thousand people, remained outside the 1964 census, subtracting out of the total losses determined by V. Zheryavich at 1027 thousand people, 597 thousand were identified by name of the victims of the invaders and their accomplices. Of the 430 thousand dead, according to our estimates, about half, or 215 thousand people, are fighters of collaborationist formations, including here the fighters who fought in the Wehrmacht and were destroyed in the Stalingrad cauldron of the 373rd Croatian infantry regiment and the 13th and 23rd th Croatian SS division, which operated mainly in the Balkans and fought against the Soviet troops in Hungary for a short time. In these divisions, in addition to the Croats, Muslims and Volksdeutsche served.

Yugoslav Volksdeutsche also served in the 7th SS Volunteer Mountain Division "Prinz Eugen", which operated mainly against the NOAJ.

404 SPBey Magnnp. AChaz oYo Fe But] osat \$. R 244.

We assume that in the breakdown of the 597,323 deaths by nationality, Roma make up the vast majority in the "unknown" category, and we estimate the number of victims of the Yugoslav Roma genocide at 16,000. This is close to the estimate of V. Zheryavich, who estimates the victims among the Roma at 18,000 people. We estimate the number of victims of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia at 45,000 people. Perhaps this number is slightly less, since some, although a small number of Jews could have died in the ranks of the NOAU.

There are also higher estimates of the number of victims of the Holocaust (67,122 deaths) "55° and the genocide of the Roma in Yugoslavia (40 thousand deaths)"<sup>6</sup>. They seem overpriced to us.

Just as V. Zheryavich shows, the statements of the Communists of Yugoslavia are absolutely fantastic, that in the Croatian concentration camp Gradina-Jasenovac 700 thousand people were tortured by ustas and that the victims were buried in almost 900 graves of 800 victims each. Archaeological excavations at the site of the camp did not confirm this version. In 1989, 7 graves were excavated. Information was published for only 6 graves, in which a total of 485 skeletons were found, or an average of 61 skeletons per grave. If we assume that the situation is the same with other graves, then the number of victims of Jasenovac can be estimated at 55-60 thousand people, but by no means at 700 thousand. V. Zheryavich estimates the number of deaths in this camp at 85 thousand people, including including 50 thousand Serbs, 12 thousand Croats and Muslims, 13 thousand Jews and 10 thousand Gypsies. The number of victims among collaborators, extradited by the British troops to Tito's partisans, and killed in Bleiberg on the Austro-Yugoslav border and during the so-called "death marches" to the camps, Zheryavich estimates at 12,196 Croats, 1.5-2 thousand Serbian and Montenegrin Chetniks and about 8 thousand Slovenian collaborators from the "White Guard" of General Leon Rupnik. This gives 21.7-22.2 thousand victims, but not 300 thousand victims, as some Croatian emigrants claimed.

It should be emphasized that neither B. Kožović nor V. Žerjavič analyzed the Yugoslav censuses in terms of their accuracy and changes in their accuracy from census to census. Therefore, it is difficult to say how accurate their estimates of the total number of victims are. But the increase in the data of the nominal census of victims among the opponents of the Axis countries by 150-180 thousand people seems to us not entirely justified.

It should be noted that both estimates, both by V. Žerjavič and B. Kožović, are based only on census data and depend on calculation methods. Kochovich determined the total demographic losses of Yugoslavia during the war years at 1985 thousand people, and Zheryavich - at 2022 thousand people. The fall in the birth rate was determined by the first at 333 thousand people, and the second - at 326 thousand people. Emigration during the war years Kochovich estimated at 638 thousand people, and Zheryavich - at 669 thousand people.

The losses of the Yugoslav army and partisans Josip Broz Tito, speaking on May 21, 1945 in Zagreb, estimated at 300 thousand dead, and the total losses of Yugoslavia at 1.7 million people.

405 Kapaish Ropa/a . 'Te Orezypu oE Elgore'\$ Surz1e\$. R 184. 406 Pravda, 1945, May 26.

407 Begau with Maatt. Uado1a\atatlrijaNopt\$ mi Fe pitfeg Zesopa Mpa M/ag

By the Paris Peace Conference of 1946, the figures of losses were specified by the Yugoslav government - 17,706 thousand dead Yugoslavs, including 305 thousand soldiers of the People's Liberation Army "8.

A breakdown of the total number of losses by representatives of various nationalities was also made:

Serbs - 1,280 thousand  
Croats - 110 thousand  
Bosnians - 100 thousand  
Slovenes - 60 thousand  
Jews - 60 thousand  
Montenegrins - 50 thousand  
Macedonians - 35 thousand  
Albanians - 4 thousand  
Hungarians - 3  
thousand Slovaks - 1 thousand .  
Turks - 686.

In total, this gives 1703.7 thousand people, which is 2.3 thousand less than the total figure. Obviously, 2.3 thousand people are representatives of other nationalities, as well as those whose nationality has not been determined. Undoubtedly, the overall overestimation of losses occurred almost exclusively due to the losses of the Serbian population. For this purpose, statements were required that 7,700 thousand people, mostly Serbs, died in the Croatian concentration camp Jasenovac. This number exaggerates the number of victims by more than 600,000. The casualties of other nationalities, especially Croats, are most likely downplayed here.

The absence of casualties among the Roma is striking. Probably, in this calculation, the gypsies are included in the composition of the Serbs, Croats and Bosnians.

The overall loss figures had no demographic justification and were aimed at achieving the largest possible reparation payments in favor of Yugoslavia.

B. Kožovič gives a different breakdown of losses by nationality:

Serbs - 487 thousand  
Croats - 207 thousand  
Slovenes - 32 thousand  
Montenegrins - 50 thousand  
Muslims - 86 thousand  
Macedonians - 7 thousand  
Other Slavs - 12 thousand  
Albanians - 6 thousand

Jews - 60 thousand.

Gypsies - 27 thousand

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Germans - 26  
thousand Others - 14  
thousand Total - 1014 thousand

V. Zheryavich gives a slightly different breakdown of the dead by nationality  
(in brackets - the number of deaths in Yugoslavia):

Serbs - 530 thousand (497.33 thousand).  
Croats - 192 thousand (178, 14 thousand).  
Slovenes - 42 thousand (36.6 thousand).  
Montenegrins - 20 thousand (20 thousand).  
Muslims - 103 thousand (100.3 thousand).  
Macedonians - 6 thousand (6 thousand).  
Other Slavs - 7 thousand (7 thousand). Albanians  
- 18 thousand (18 thousand). Jews - 57  
thousand (33.24 thousand). Gypsies - 18  
thousand (18 thousand). Germans - 28  
thousand (28 thousand). Others - 6  
thousand (6 thousand).

In total - 1027 thousand (947 thousand).

He also distributes the losses among the republics of Yugoslavia as follows.

Distribution of losses of various nationalities in the republics of the  
former Yugoslavia (in thousands of people)

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V. Zheryavich also tried to estimate the distribution of Yugoslav losses by categories and by republics. At the same time, he emphasizes that the total value of statistically calculated losses is only 10-20% less than the value of losses registered by local authorities. In Croatia, for example, the statistically calculated losses are 271 thousand, and the registered losses are 266.6 thousand.

Distribution of loss categories by republics of Yugoslavia (thousand people)

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It seems to us that V. Zheryavich underestimates the losses of the NOAU by almost 70 thousand people, which, according to our estimate, together with the losses of the Yugoslav royal army in 1941, amount to about 306.2 thousand people. On the other hand, the losses of the collaborationist formations, taking into account also their losses outside Yugoslavia, in particular on the Soviet-German front, practically coincide with our estimate - 215 thousand people.

The losses of the Yugoslav royal army in the war against the Germans and their allies in the 1941 war are not exactly known. The fighting, which began on April 6, ended on April 17 with the surrender of the Yugoslav army. 343.7 thousand Yugoslav military personnel were taken prisoner. Most of them were sent home, but several thousand, mostly Serbs, died in German camps. About 300 thousand more Yugoslav soldiers went home and escaped capture. The Germans lost in battles against the Yugoslavs 151 killed, 15 missing and 392 wounded. With this in mind, Yugoslav losses are unlikely to exceed 500 people killed.

Subsequently, a breakdown of the losses of NOAU by years and categories of losses was given, which confirmed the figure called by Tito “°. The underestimation of partisan losses by the Germans could be formed due to losses,

which the partisans suffered in the fight against the Italians, Bulgarians, Chetniks and some other formations, when they acted without interaction with the Germans.

Losses of NOAU from July 7, 1941 to May 16, 1945

Categories  
and 1941 1942 1943 1944 1945 Total  
losses

Killed in action 18,896 | 24700 48 378 80 650 72 925 | 245 549 Wounded 29300 |  
31200 61730 147650 | 130,000 | 399 880 Dead 3127 4194 7923 8066 7800  
31200 from wounds Missing 3800 6300 5423 5600 7800  
28 923  
missing Total 55 123 | 66 394 | 123454 | 365420 | 218 525 |  
705 552

The total number of dead and missing is 305,672. Note that, most likely, the category "died from wounds" also includes those who died from diseases, since these two categories of casualties were hardly different in partisan hospitals. The main losses occurred in 1944 and 1945, which is also quite natural. In 1944, the Germans carried out a number of major punitive operations against the Yugoslav partisans, and for the last three months of this year, Tito's partisan army was forced to wage not a partisan, but a conventional front-line struggle against the German-Croatian troops, who had heavy weapons and enjoyed the support of aviation, which the partisans had. did not appear. Especially

409 Djilas M . face of totalitarianism. M.: News, 1992. S. 66-68, 81-82.

The big losses of the NOAU were in 1945, when the fighting lasted only four and a half months. The losses of this year turned out to be only 1.7 times less than the losses of 1944, while if the level of losses of 1944 had been preserved, then the difference should have been almost 3 times. The losses of 1945 were undoubtedly affected by the fact that the NOAA had to fight mainly against regular German formations.

The Red Army, which came to the aid of the NOAJ, also made a small contribution to the losses of the civilian population of Yugoslavia. Soviet troops stayed in Serbia for only a month, at the end of September and in October 1944, but this time was marked by mass rapes and murders. One of the leaders of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, an ally of Tito, and later a well-known dissident Milovan Djilas testifies in his memoirs:

"After the breakthrough of the Red Army into Yugoslavia and the liberation of Belgrade in the autumn of 1944, there were so many serious attacks - single and group - by the Red Army against Yugoslav citizens and military personnel that this turned into a political problem for the new government and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia." Since the Soviet

the command did not want to talk about this topic, and the head of the Soviet military mission in Yugoslavia, General N.V. Korneev called the accusations against the Red Army slander. And when they pointed out to him that, unlike the Red Army, English officers did not commit such excesses, Korneev exploded:

"- I protest in the most resolute way against the insults inflicted on the Red Army by comparing it with the armies of the capitalist countries!"

According to Djilas, the communists collected statements from residents, according to which there were 121 rapes, 111 were accompanied by murder. The number of rapes, after which the victim remained alive, was probably much higher, but they were not announced. In addition, there were 1,204 cases of robbery with bodily harm. The Yugoslav communists tried to complain about the rapists of the Red Army soldiers to Stalin, but he actually took them under protection, saying: "Imagine a person who is fighting from Stalingrad to Belgrade - thousands of kilometers across his devastated land, seeing the death of comrades and closest people!

Can such a person react normally? And what's the big deal if he messes with a woman after such horrors? "1°

Following V. Zheryavich, we estimate the total losses of Yugoslavia in the war at 1027 thousand people. Of this number, we estimate casualties among military personnel at 521.2 thousand people, of which 306.2 thousand people died fighting on the side of the Anti-Hitler coalition.

Losses of Bulgaria

Losses of Bulgarian troops during occupation service in

410 Ulanis B.Ts. Wars and the population of Europe. S. 223.

Yugoslavia and Greece in 1941-1944, mainly as a result of clashes with local partisans, amounted to about 3 thousand people. According to the Bulgarian communists, more than 15 thousand people died in partisan detachments fighting against the tsarist government of Bulgaria in 1941-1944!?. According to the official data of the tsarist government, the number of victims among the partisans and the communist underground was much lower - 2320 were killed in battle and 199 people were executed! These data seem to us closer to the truth. The Bulgarian army and police also suffered losses in the fight against the partisans, but they were probably smaller due to the superiority of government troops in weapons. We conditionally estimate the losses of the Bulgarian army in the fight against the partisans at one third of the losses of the partisans killed, that is, at 770 people. The losses of the Bulgarian army in 1944-1945, when it acted on the side of the Anti-Hitler coalition, amounted to 10,124 killed and died from wounds and diseases, and 21,541 wounded. In addition, in 1941, Soviet submarines sank the Bulgarian ship Shipka and the schooner Success. The casualties among the crews could amount to several dozen people. Bulgarian patrol ships sank one Soviet submarine, and two others were blown up by mines and sank in Bulgarian territorial waters. The civilian population of Bulgaria suffered

significant losses during the Anglo-American air raids on Sofia and other Bulgarian cities. So, on January 10, 1944, which the Bulgarians call "Black Monday", during the raid of American and British "flying fortresses" 750 people were killed and 710 people were injured, 4100 buildings were destroyed. After that, 300 thousand inhabitants left Sofia. An equally strong raid on the Bulgarian capital was carried out on March 30, 1944, when about 2 thousand fires were noted in the city. There were almost no basements and bomb shelters in Sofia, which increased the number of victims. In total, in 1943-1944, the allied aviation made about 23 thousand sorties over the territory of Bulgaria. 45 thousand tons of high-explosive and incendiary bombs were dropped on 186 Bulgarian settlements. 12 thousand buildings were destroyed, 4208 people were killed and 4744 people were injured. Bulgarian air defense, primarily fighters, shot down 65 Allied aircraft and another 71 aircraft were damaged. During sorties over Bulgaria, the Allies lost 585 people, of which 329 were captured, 187 died and 69 died of wounds. The losses of the Bulgarian aviation amounted to 24 fighters, another 18 aircraft were damaged. 19 pilots were killed. One of the goals of the intensive Allied air raids on Bulgaria in the first half of 1944 was

411 Ibid. S. 235. Quoted here: Pravda, 1945, May 20.

412 Meshkova P., Sharlanov D. Bulgarskat gilotina. Sofia, 1994. P. 154 (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the 20th century. P. 39).

413 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 450, tab. 173.

414 Zefirov M.V. Bulgarian Aviation in World War II

to give the Germans the impression that the landing of the main Allied forces should follow in the Balkans. Starting from September 1944, in the battles against the Germans, Bulgarian aviation lost 15 aircraft and 18 pilots ". After the communists came to power on September 9, 1944, 2618 people were killed and executed - army officers, police officers and officials, as well as representatives of the propertied classes" 6. Assuming that military and civilian victims of repression were equally divided, the losses of the Bulgarian army from terror should be increased by 1.3 thousand people. The total losses of Bulgaria can be estimated at 23.5 thousand people, of which the military and partisans account for about 18 thousand dead.

Greek losses

According to the official Greek data of the National Council for Reparations, the losses of the Greek armed forces amounted to 13,327 dead, 62,663 wounded and 1,290 missing during the Italo-Greek war of 1940-1941 "!", 1,100 dead as part of the Greek units fighting alongside the British troops in the Middle East and 20,650 dead partisans. Losses among the civilian population amounted to 56,225 shot by the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupation authorities, 105 thousand died in German concentration camps,

7120 people who became victims of German and Anglo-American bombardments, 3.5 thousand sailors of the merchant fleet who died on sunk German aircraft and submarines, as well as 600 thousand who died of starvation. The number of those who died from starvation, in our opinion, is many times overestimated, in order to increase the amount of reparations due to the country. The number of victims of the Holocaust in Greece is estimated at 69.5 thousand dead Jews." G. Frumkin doubted the official Greek figures, considering them to be significantly overestimated in terms of civilian casualties and estimated the losses of Greece at 20,000 military dead during the Italo-Greek war, 60,000 non-Jewish civilians repressed (probably this includes losses partisans), 20,000 non-Jewish deportees (probably also dead), 60,000 Jews exterminated by the Nazis, and 140,000 famine victims?

415 Meshkova P., Sharlanov D. Bulgarskat gilotina. Sofia, 1994. P. 151 (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the 20th century. P. 39).

416 See also: AcCher Net2 A. (1998) (w CgeekK). Sgeese w UoyA \Mag P (gap\$]ayea got {fe Segtap ot191ta1 Bu Koza\$ Zaggorocho10\$). Abenz: Sows11\$, 1998. R. 595-597.

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419 Egatkt Sgedogu . Roralop SVapdez\$ pcs Eigore 51tse 1939. R. 89-91.

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The basis for Frumkin's assessment is as obscure as the basis for the official assessment. It seems to us that the official data on the losses of the armed forces and partisans may be close to reality. But they must be increased by a number of categories of losses not taken into account by the National Reparations Board. They do not include, in particular, losses during the fighting in Crete in May 1941. During the unsuccessful reflection of the German landing on the island, the Greek troops located there lost 426 dead (including those who died from wounds), up to 850 wounded and 5255 captured. In addition, during the fighting in Crete, up to 3 thousand civilians were killed. The large number of wounded compared to those killed during the war in mainland Greece, at a ratio of 4.7:1, suggests that deaths from wounds are not included in the death toll here. If we take the proportion of those who died from wounds as 10% of the total number of wounded, then the number of deaths from wounds can be estimated at 6.3 thousand people, and the total number of regular Greek army soldiers who died during World War II, we estimate at 22.4 thousand, including all the missing in the number of those killed. We estimate the total losses of the military, taking into account the losses of partisans, according to official data, at 43 thousand people, assuming that the official figure of 20,650 dead partisans also includes

victims of the struggle of the communist guerrillas ELAS (Greek National Liberation Army) against British troops in Athens in December 1944. It should be noted that most of the partisans were former soldiers of the Greek army, disbanded by the Germans to their homes. The total number of Greeks who fell into German and Italian captivity in mainland Greece was estimated by Hitler at 210,000 soldiers and 8,000 officers"??, and taking into account the prisoners taken in Crete, at 223,000 people. All of them were soon sent home. Hitler declared in the Reichstag on 4 May 1941 that "all Greek prisoners were released immediately after the surrender, in view of their heroic struggle" "23.

We also tend to accept the number of victims of the Holocaust given by Martin Gilbert. There was indeed a famine in Greece during the winter of 1941/42, greatly facilitated by the British naval blockade. Before the war, Greece did not starve, because it was able to import the necessary amount of food. Therefore, all victims of hunger should be attributed to military losses.

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1. R. 72-

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Greece, but it is very difficult to determine their number. The autumn of 1940 was unusually dry in Greece, the summer of 1940 was extremely hot, and the winter of 1941/42 was unusually cold. All this significantly reduced the yields of basic food crops. Under pressure from the Greek government-in-exile, England eased the blockade in the spring of 1942, allowing food supplies to reach Greece. Türkiye and Sweden also provided assistance to Greece. From the summer of 1942, the International Red Cross was able to establish significant food supplies to Greece, including through the supply of Canadian and Argentine grain. But even earlier he provided significant assistance to Greece with the assistance of the Axis powers. In the winter of 1941, at the height of the famine, the IWC distributed 800,000 bowls of free soup and set up 450 feeding centers for 100,000 children over the age of seven and 130 care centers for younger children. According to the Red Cross, about 250,000 people died from starvation and lack of warm clothes"?. This figure seems to us the closest to the truth, as given by a neutral institution, whose representatives actually worked in Greece during the famine. It should also be taken into account that at the time of publication of the IWC report

was not interested in either exaggerating or downplaying the scale of the famine and was not going to blame either the Axis states or the countries of the Anti-Hitler coalition for its occurrence. Of course, we do not know what primary statistics the ICC had and what the method of estimation was. Probably, the accuracy of the number of 250 thousand dead lies within plus or minus 50 thousand people.

We estimate the total number of losses of the armed forces and partisans of Greece, taking the figures of the National Council for Reparations, at 43 thousand people, the number of victims of repressions and deportations to concentration camps by the occupation authorities, taking the total figure of G. Frumkin, but subtracting from it the losses of the partisans, in 100 thousand people, and the number of victims of famine, taking the estimate of the IWC, is 250 thousand people. In total, this gives Greece a loss of 393 thousand people.

#### Finnish losses

In the Soviet-Finnish, or Winter, War in November 1939 - March 1940, the Finnish army lost 18,139 killed, 1,437 died from wounds and diseases, 4,101 missing and 43,557 wounded, surviving, out of 337 thousand drafted into army. Of the 4,101 missing, 847 returned from Soviet captivity, and 1,820 were officially declared dead. 1,434 Finnish soldiers are currently listed as missing. Since 16 Finnish prisoners of war died in Soviet captivity, 847 returned to their homeland, and 20 remained in the USSR<sup>75</sup>, the total number of those killed among the missing can be estimated at 3218 people. The total number of those killed will then be 21,357,

424 "Accept us, beautiful Suomi!" "Liberation" campaign in Finland 1939-1941. Collection of documents and photographic materials / Comp. E. Balashov. St. Petersburg: Galleya Print, 1999, p. 180; TisKeg 5repseg; WoBetz, Rt1\$usA Magu an Ofetz. Epsus1oreCh1a oYo My A Mag P: A PoHyasa1, 5oc1a1, apa MPpagu H1ogu.

Zatza Barbara, CaP{.: ABC-SSHMO, 2005. P. 437.

425 Frolov D.D. Soviet-Finnish captivity 1939-1944. Helsinki: VME Sgopr Oy; St. Petersburg: Aleteyya, 2009. S. 8, 444.

1437 died from wounds and diseases, 16 died in captivity. The total irretrievable losses of the Finnish armed forces in the Winter War can be estimated at 22,810 dead. In addition, foreign volunteers fought on the side of Finland. Of the 8,680 Swedish citizens, 33 were killed and 185 were wounded. Of the 695 Norwegians, 2 were killed. Of the 1,010 Danes, 5 were killed. Of the 72 American Finns, 3 were killed and 5 were wounded. 346 Hungarians who fought on the side of Finland suffered no losses. Also in the Finnish army were about 350 former subjects of the Russian Empire - the White Sea and Olonets Karelians and Ingrian Finns. Of these, a partisan battalion was formed, which never entered the battle. In addition, other volunteers fought in the Finnish army, who did not suffer combat losses. These are 56 Estonians, 51 Belgians, 18 citizens of Germany, 17 Dutch, 13 English, 7 Italians, 6 Poles, 6 Swiss, 4 citizens of Latvia, 3 citizens of Luxembourg, 2 citizens of France, 2 citizens of Spain and 1 native of Yugoslavia, Romania, Czechoslovakia and

Portugal, as well as 15 Russian emigrants with Nansen passports of stateless persons. It is possible that Russian emigrants were among the citizens of European countries who volunteered to come to Finland. The Finnish ground forces lost 17,005 killed, 3,781 missing and 44,414 wounded, the fleet, respectively, 1013, 282 and 2204, and aviation 47, 28 and 54. In addition, 33 people died and 44 were wounded in the rear, and the casualties of the troops of the Reserve Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief were 41 killed, 10 missing and 78 wounded. Finnish researchers estimate the losses of the civilian population in the Winter War at 1029 people. This number includes mainly the victims of Soviet air raids on Helsinki and other cities, as well as 65 sailors of the Finnish merchant fleet who died on sunken ships, and 68 female nurses"<sup>77</sup>. Soviet losses in the Winter War are estimated by us at 164,300 killed and died of wounds and in captivity out of more than 1 million Soviet servicemen who participated in the war. The Finnish command estimated Soviet losses at 200 thousand dead and missing. Higher estimates of the irretrievable losses of Soviet troops in 230-270 thousand dead"<sup>78</sup> seems to us to be significantly overestimated. According to various estimates, from 5546 to 6116 Red Army soldiers fell into Finnish captivity. Of this number, 5465 returned to their homeland (of which 158 were shot on charges of espionage and treason), up to 111 prisoners may have died in captivity, and some, not precisely established, the number of prisoners remained in Finland. Therefore, the exact

it is impossible to establish the number of Soviet prisoners who died in captivity"<sup>79</sup>.

426 "Accept us, beautiful Suomi!" "Liberation" campaign in Finland 1939-1941. Collection of documents and photographic materials / Comp. E. Balashov. St. Petersburg: Galleya Print, 1999, p. 180.

427 Tiskeg 5repseg; Voregyo5, RI5sSha Magu apa err \$ . Epsus1oreCh1a oYo My Mage P: A Dew], 5os1a1, apa MPKagu N15fogu. Zaa Barbfaga, Ca: ABC-STO, 2005. P 441.

428 Frolov D.D. Soviet-Finnish captivity. S. 8, 453.

429 Manopa! ReEnse CoPede. jaKozodap Sh\$yuota. \o1. 6. Not]51pK1: Roguoo. 1994. R. d88-491.

In the continuation war with the Soviet Union, which Finland waged from June 1941 to September 1944, 475 thousand people were drafted into the Finnish armed forces. During the Continuation War between June 15, 1941 and September 30, 1944, the Finnish armed forces suffered 38,677 casualties on the battlefield, 13,202 who died of wounds, 6,577 went missing and 259 were taken prisoner. The total number of dead and missing was 58,715. Soviet losses in killed and missing were estimated by the Finnish command at 265 thousand people, not counting the prisoners. Died in captivity 997 out of 3114 prisoners, or 32.0%<sup>80</sup>. Thus, the total losses of the Finnish armed forces in the Continuation War in killed and dead can be estimated by subtracting from 58,715 dead and missing 2,117 surviving prisoners, to 56,598 people. 64,188 soldiers of the Red Army ended up in Finnish captivity. Of these, 18,677 died,



or 29.1%\*32. It should also be taken into account that 1,407 Finnish volunteers served in the Waffen-SS and 256 of them died”33.

In the continuation war in 1941, the irretrievable losses of the Finnish troops amounted to 26,355 people, in 1942 - 7552 people, in 1943 - 3779, in 1944 until May 31 - 1297, and from June 1 to September 30 - 19 732. In addition , the loss of the wounded amounted to about 158 thousand people.

Finnish civilian casualties in 1941-1944, mainly as a result of Soviet bombing, amounted to just over 900 people killed and 2,700 wounded during Soviet bombing, and another 190 people were victims of Soviet partisan attacks in Northern Finland.

1036 Finnish soldiers died, went missing and were captured in battles with the Germans during the so-called Lapland War from October 1, 1944 to May 31, 1945. Of this number, 774 are killed and died from wounds, 224 are missing and 38 are prisoners of war who survived. Thus, the total number of deaths can be estimated at 998 deaths. The loss of the wounded in the Lapland war amounted to about

430 Frolov D.D. Soviet-Finnish captivity 1939-1944. Helsinki: WME Sgtr Oy; St. Petersburg: Aleteyya, 2009. S. 292-294. This number probably includes Finnish volunteers who served in the German army. The official Russian estimate speaks only of 2377 Finnish prisoners, of which 403 people died (Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. P. 512, table. 198). Probably, here the number of prisoners is underestimated due to the unaccounted for deaths.

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captivity.

431 Ibid. pp. 307, 312.

432 Mete Gago, Ro]5 from Wis\$\$, Pre\$ Gasop . EshtzV Uopishcheez w 1e Segtap Mepgtas w MMMLT Fir://mlim Her] adtaya.sotp/AShapa.Vtj)).

433 Manopa! Reepse SoPede. La hozodap cop. \o1. 6. Ne1zshk: Roguoo. 1994. R. 488-491.

434 ha.

435 "Accept us, beautiful Suomi!" "Liberation" campaign in Finland 1939-1941. S. 188.

3 thousand people. This war took place in the north of Finland, where German troops held part of the Finnish territory. Of the total number of losses killed and wounded in the Continuation War and the Lapland War, the fleet accounted for only 2.27%, or 4.7 thousand people, and the Air Force - 0.5%, or 1100 people. In the fleet, 86% of the casualties were in coastal units, which most often fought as infantry. In the land army, 90% of the losses were in the infantry.

We estimate the irretrievable losses of Finland during the Second World War at 81.8 thousand people, of which civilians

accounts for 2.1 thousand people.

#### Swedish losses

During the Second World War, 8680 Swedish volunteers served in the Finnish army, of which 33 died. About 1.5 thousand Swedish citizens also served in the Finnish army during the Continuation War of 1941-1944. Taking into account the fact that approximately 11.9% of all conscripts died in this war in the Finnish army, the total number of dead Swedes in the ranks of the Finnish army could be about 190 people. They are included in the losses of the Finnish army. According to various estimates, from 145 to 315 Swedish volunteers served in the SS troops, of which 30 to 45 people died. probably lower estimates of both the numbers and losses of Swedish volunteers. 72 Swedes ended up in Soviet captivity. How many of them died in captivity is unknown. Obviously, the Swedes who died in captivity are included in the estimates of the total number of dead. 33 Swedish sailors died after the Swedish submarine Ulven hit a German mine and sank in the Baltic Sea on April 16, 1943. 391 sailors of the Swedish merchant fleet became victims of attacks by German submarines, and 187 people became victims of attacks by Soviet submarines. This number includes 7 people from the ship "Beng Sture", which sank on October 29, 1942. The Shch-496 submarine that sank them delivered 7 rescued sailors to O. Lavensari and handed them over to the Soviet military commandant. Further, their traces are lost. The Swedish Red Cross ship Stureborg was attacked by an Italian aircraft in the Mediterranean in July 1942. As a result, 19 Swedish sailors and a representative of the Red Cross were killed.

436 Von Sciuli9T.1 auss I, Macroas ana P1res, Jasop. Smea1zV Mopitseegs w {Te Segman M/erttas E w MAMT // ILp://mgmi.Ee1Chdtai.comm/arises.rp?GSH=58

437 Müller-Hillebrand B . Land Army of Germany 1933-1945. Per. with him. Moscow: Isographus; EKSMO, 2003, p. 420.

438 Galitsky V.P. Enemy prisoners of war in the USSR (1941-1945) // VIZH. 1990. No. 9. P. 46, tab. 5.

439 Matsueg KpodzvapYpdag toyo 5emde ipeg apdga - udyazkiae (VER://zu. mare 1a.ora/mya KI 1\$ a\_%C3%Vbueg KkchazVapaYpdag to{f Zuetde ip4eg apaga\_u %C3%A419\$Kide{)

440 Nue tago1g N\$ Yaepdtodag uts n se Benizug At? (Bir:/ ^yaz1tChaueRag.51.15/5var.azr?1a=5057)

The total losses of Sweden in World War II can be estimated at 851 people, of which the military - about 253 people.

#### Iceland losses

The loss of Iceland amounted to 229 sailors of the merchant fleet, who died on ships sunk by German submarines or blown up by mines during the Battle of the Atlantic "".

#### Norwegian losses

According to G. Frumkin, the losses of the Norwegian army and navy in the campaign of 1940, as well as during subsequent actions as part of the Anti-Hitler coalition, are estimated at 1.3 thousand people. About 700 more Norwegians died fighting in the SS troops, and 1.5 thousand Norwegian Resistance fighters became victims of German repression. In addition, 1,800 civilians died during the fighting, and 3,600 merchant marine sailors died during the Battle of the Atlantic on ships sunk by German submarines and aircraft. 700 Jews of Norway became victims of the Holocaust ""?. According to official figures from the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, a total of 10,262 Norwegians died during World War II, including 3,670 merchant mariners on 706 Norwegian ships sunk. The number of Norwegians executed by the Germans for participating in the Resistance is estimated at 366. Another 39 members of the resistance movement died during the investigation. 658 political prisoners and underground workers died in concentration camps in Norway, and another 1,433 died in concentration camps outside of Norway. About 6 thousand Norwegians served in the German army, and 709 of them died. After the war, 37 death sentences were carried out on Norwegian collaborators and representatives of the German occupation administration. 728 Norwegian Jews became victims of the Holocaust. During the 1940 campaign, the Norwegians lost 1,335 killed and missing, British forces 1,896 killed, missing, and seriously wounded, and French and Polish troops combined 530 dead. Another 1.1 thousand Norwegians died as part of the Free Norway Army as part of British troops in 1940-1945. The German ground forces lost 3,692 dead and missing." In the Soviet

441 EgatKkt Sgedogu . Roraylop SVapdez sh Eigore 5shse 1939. R; 112-113.

442 Radte Tog . Mogmau apa \Moya Mag P // Mui Ma No. where, OZ1o, 1995? MagsV (VER://igilig.potugau.oga/aBol{pogmgau/b1fogu/aÿyet1 814/mlig2/)

443 MagNp SPBegE. AChaz oYo Fe But] osach \$. R. 244.

444 Tisseg 5repseg Voregz Ri5sSha Magu apa oteg\$. Epsusore Ma og My M/ag P: A Rosa], 5os1a1, apa MPKagu N15fotu. R. 944, 946.

445 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198.

101 Norwegians were captured, of which 18 died. According to other sources, 104 Norwegians were captured in the USSR, of which 71 were repatriated by the beginning of 1949, 18 died, remained in

prisoner-of-war camps 12. In addition, 2 Norwegians were transferred to the register of civilian internees, and 1 to the GULAG<sup>447</sup>. Probably, due to these 3 people, the difference in numbers formed. It is possible that these people died in captivity. The number of victims of hostilities in Norway in 1940 and 1944, as well as German and Anglo-American bombings, can be estimated at 1028 people.

We estimate the total number of dead Norwegians at 10.3 thousand people. Of this number, 2,749 are military personnel, including 405 resistance fighters.

#### Denmark losses

In Denmark, losses during the period of German occupation amounted to 39 Danish army soldiers (including 13 during the German invasion on April 9, 1940, and 26 during the dissolution of the Danish government on August 29, 1943), 797 executed Resistance fighters and 1281 sailors of the merchant fleet who died on ships sunk by the Germans during the Battle of the Atlantic. In addition, 102 people were shot by the Germans for various crimes, and another 11 people were killed without trial by the Gestapo during the investigation. 417 Danes were victims of air bombardments by Anglo-American aircraft, and 10 - by Soviet aircraft on the island of Bornholm. 472 Danish Jews were deported to the Theresienstadt concentration camp. 52 of them died. About 6.5 thousand Danish Jews managed to emigrate to Sweden. About 6 thousand Danes were deported to German concentration camps, of which 463 died. Thus, 3172 inhabitants of Denmark became victims of the German occupation and hostilities on the territory of Denmark and the battle for the Atlantic, of which only 39 were military personnel. In addition, about 3.9 thousand Danes died in the German army. 546 Danes fell into Soviet captivity, of which 35 died. The total losses of Denmark in World War II amounted to about 7.1 thousand dead, of which 3.9 thousand were military personnel.

#### Losses of Estonia

According to the official Soviet Estonian estimate, during the first Soviet occupation in 1940-1941, 2,400 people were killed in Estonia.

446 Prisoners of war, 1939-1956. S. 176.

447 Gaurzep Cere . Te Ossirayop sh pashzheg\$ // Rap15V MITsagu H1\$some mezke (VER://igilig. 011 51\$%5.aK/Beza(e]len/mli!2 {a Umli'2 \$\$af.Vt7]) .

448 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198.

449 The peoples of the Baltic countries under Stalinism. 1940s - 1950s / Ed. N.F. Bugai. Stuttgart, 2005. P. 268 (quoted from: Zubkova E.Yu. Baltic states and the Kremlin. M.: ROSSPEN, 2008. P. 127).

the inhabitants of the country. This includes both those shot by the NKVD before and after the start of the Soviet-German war, as well as several hundred "forest brothers" killed during clashes with Soviet troops in July - August 1941. The death toll among the 10,000 deported and arrested deported to the USSR (actually 6,700 people were deported) "° is estimated at 6,000 people. It is also assumed that 12,000 Estonians died in the Red Army (out of 34,000 drafted) and another 12,000 - in the labor battalions, the conditions in which differed little from the Gulag. Approximately 6.1 thousand more civilians evacuated to the USSR died or went missing"?! It seems to us that the number of those killed in the labor battalions, whose surviving soldiers were sent to the Red Army as "volunteers", in this case is overestimated. According to our estimates, in the winter of 1941/42, no more than one third of 12 thousand died in the labor battalions, and the remaining 8 thousand died already in the Red Army, the total number of deaths in which we determine at 20 thousand people. It is possible that this number, as well as the number of those mobilized into the Red Army, is significantly underestimated, since after the return of the Red Army to Estonia in 1944, many local residents could be drafted directly into the Estonian Red Army Corps. According to the official Russian estimate, 21.2 thousand Estonians died in the Red Army"?? In general, the data on Soviet irretrievable losses in the collection "Russia and the USSR in the Wars of the 20th Century" are underestimated by about three times. However, the number of 21.2 thousand is too small to be able to say with certainty that it must necessarily be significantly lower than the true number of Estonians who died in the Red Army. It is possible that in this case it is close to the truth.

During the German occupation of Estonia in 1941-1944, according to the official Estonian estimate, 7,798 Estonian civilians died who were executed by the invaders and died in prisons and camps. Among these victims are 963 Estonian Jews and 243 Gypsies. Another 3,000 Jews from other European countries were exterminated by the Nazis in Estonia. Out of 7798 Estonian victims on the territory of Estonia, 5634 were shot, the rest died in prisons and camps." Another 1,040 Estonians out of 4,000 deported died in German concentration camps outside Estonia, and about 200 out of 800 people died while serving their labor service in Germany" "" . During the Soviet bombing of Estonian cities, about 800 people died. As part of the German army, out of about 70 thousand volunteers and mobilized people died

450 Te ULle Book. 1055e5 schea op ne Esbyutap Manon Bu ossiraNop gedtes 1940-1991. Tashun: Eton Epsusorae a Pavloshers, 2005. P 38, 1st 2.

451 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 238, tab. 121.

452 Thie Me Book. 1.055e\$ Ya Stead Op {Ve Ezyushchap ManNop Bu OssiraNop Gedtez 1940-1991.R 16.

453 Tr1a. R. 38, {a e 2.

454 Gr. R. 29.

about 10,000 Estonian citizens, of whom at least 6,666 are known by name." By the beginning of 1949, there were 6,398 Estonians in the USSR as prisoners of war. Of these, 1292 people had died by this time and 2 people remained in prisoner of war camps. 49 Estonians were repatriated to other states, 734 were released, 19 people were recognized as civilian prisoners, 11 were convicted by military tribunals, 4291 were transferred to the Gulag and to prisons." Until the mid-1950s, when most Estonians were released, another 400-450 people could have died.

During the second Soviet occupation, which began in 1944, according to the official Estonian estimate, 10,000 of the 30,000 arrested and 23 thousand died. out of 23 thousand deported<sup>444</sup> However, the vast majority of these victims belong to the post-war period, so we exclude them from Estonia's military losses.

The total number of civilians who died in Estonia as a result of the first Soviet occupation can be estimated at about 24 thousand people, and during the German occupation - at 9 thousand people. Estonia's total losses can be estimated at 63,800 dead, with about 30,000 casualties among the military (20,000 in the Red Army and 10,000 in the German). It should be noted that in Estonia, as well as in other countries of the Baltic basin occupied by Germany - Latvia, Lithuania, Denmark and Norway, there was no famine during the war. This was facilitated both by the high level of agricultural development before the war, and by the rather benign occupation regime in comparison with many other countries, such as Poland, Belarus or Ukraine.

#### Losses of Latvia

Approximately 110,000 Latvians served in the German armed forces and police units during the war years. 52 thousand of them fought against the Red Army in the 15th and 19th infantry divisions of the SS troops. Volunteers among them made up only an insignificant minority - about 15%. Up to 75 thousand residents of Latvia and Latvians fought in the Red Army, who lived in the USSR until 1940. Of this number, 57,540 people were mobilized in 1944." Latvian SS divisions

455 POWs, 1939-1956. S. 176.

456 Tve Mb{e rock. T.055e\$ ts e4 op She Ezoshay manop Bu ossiranop geditez 1940-1991; E.ZE;Frequent 2;

457 Retat1\$, p51z. MMaNep.5\$ Pshiz oYo Tablapz ap @ Oer Mop-Segtashs Reop1ez sh Mota \Mag P // Te Na4ep apa Eotya4ep N\logu oYo Gabla apdeg bolee ap Ma71 ossiraNopt\$ 1940-1991 (Zushrozyat oYo {Pe Soshi11\$\$\$10 oE Fe H1yuoman\$ oE Gama.\o1.14)/ V19a: shz&tse oE {Be H1Zyugu oYo Gala, 2005. R 127; History of Latvia. XX century / Ed. Ilze Freibergi, Inesis Feldmanis. Per. from Latvian. Riga:].1.., 2005. P. 277.

458 Ibid. S. 309.

459 Kyrty5 Vala15 . TBe 15 "GabLap 55 \$ Uopishchagu 01151010 w Fe Roz1opz a She Exeg \ UePkaua (1 Mags - 14 Arg 1944) // H1 \$ ogu oYo Fe Vas Ved1op oYo {Te 1940 \$ -1980 \$ (Zutrospli oYo {Be Sott115510p oYo {Ve H1\$%yuopapz oYo Gala. \Ya] 1. 24. Food: Gayo&uTsaz uezagez sh5Nishche arda4\$, 2009. P. 579.

suffered significant losses. So, for example, the 15th SS division alone in the battles on the Velikaya River in the Pskov region from March 1 to April 14, 1944 lost a total of 365 killed, 1120 wounded and 307 missing. By the beginning of 1949, 3354 Latvians were taken into account in Soviet captivity. Of these, 507 people had died by this time, 9 people remained in prisoner-of-war camps, 28 people were repatriated to other states, 864 people were released, 1,897 people were transferred to the Gulag and prisons, and 1 person was convicted by a military tribunal. Only 48 Latvians were recognized as civilian prisoners and transferred to internment camps." Of the Latvians who remained in prison in 1944, until the mid-1950s, when most of them were released, 100-200 people could die.

According to Soviet estimates, about 15 thousand Latvians died in the German formations, and 10 thousand "ooo" in the Red Army. The latter estimate seems to us to be considerably underestimated. Based on our general assessment of Soviet losses in the dead, which amounted to about 60% of the total number of mobilized, among those 17.5 thousand who were mobilized back in 1941, irretrievable losses could be up to 50%, or up to 8-9 thousand people (here it should be taken into account that part of the servicemen of the former army of the Republic of Latvia preferred to go over to the side of the Germans). Among those mobilized in 1944, 87% were drafted into the infantry, where the losses were especially great. They had to participate in battles from 6 to 9 months. Their losses in the dead during this time could be up to 10% of the total number, i.e., about 7.5 thousand people. The total loss of servicemen from among the natives of Latvia, who served in the Red Army and did not go over to the side of the Germans, we estimate at 16 thousand dead. This obviously includes the losses of the few Soviet partisans in Latvia, who were almost all professionals sent from the mainland. According to the official Russian estimate, 11.6 thousand Latvians died in the Red Army"5". The overall official estimate of Soviet irretrievable losses is underestimated by about a third. However, since the number of 11.6 thousand is too small, it is impossible to determine the total number of Latvians who died in the Red Army by multiplying this number by 3. It should also be taken into account that not only Latvians served in the Red Army, but also residents of Latvia of other nationalities.

460 POWs, 1939-1956. S. 176.

461 Izvestia of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 1990, No. 11. P. 118 (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the twentieth century. P. 28).

462 History of Latvia. XX century. P. 309. 463  
Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 238, tab. 121.

464 History of Latvia. XX century. pp. 244-245; NMek\$Un\$, Jan1\$. TBe 14 paw 1941 Rerociop

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Gabua // 'Te H1a4ept apa Rogya4en N1\$fogu oYo Gala ipaer Sol1ef apa Ma71 ossiraYaopz\$  
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oYo {Te Sotpp115\$10op oYo {Be N15fopap\$ oY GabLa. \o1. 14). V1da: p\$lyzhe oYo {Be Nogu oYo Gala, 2005.R  
71-72.

Between June 14 and 22, 1941, 15,424 inhabitants of Latvia were deported, of which 5,263 were arrested. In total, during the period of the first Soviet occupation of 1941-1945, 7292 people were arrested. Of this number, about 700 people were shot, and 3,441 of those arrested died in custody. In addition, more than 1.9 thousand deportees died in places of special settlements<sup>465</sup>. We estimate the total number of dead inhabitants of Latvia during the first Soviet occupation at 6.1 thousand people.

During the second Soviet occupation of Latvia in 1944-1945, due to the hostilities that continued until the surrender of Germany, the scope of political repressions was limited. Their main scope fell on the post-war period. Therefore, we do not include their victims in the military losses of Latvia.

During the Nazi occupation of 1941-1945, 2.5 thousand people became victims of the genocide of the Roma in Latvia<sup>466</sup>. As part of the final solution of the Jewish question, the Nazis destroyed, according to M. Gilbert, 80 thousand Jews in Latvia<sup>467</sup>. This estimate seems to us to be overestimated and also includes Jews from other European countries who were deported to Latvia during the German occupation (out of 25,000 deported Jews, 20,000 were exterminated)<sup>468</sup>. Latvian historians and their Israeli colleagues estimate the number of Latvian Jews exterminated by the Nazis, including about 500 Jewish refugees from other countries who remained in Latvia by June 22, 1941, at 65-70 thousand people. At the same time, they proceed from the fact that approximately 94 thousand local Jews lived in Latvia before the Soviet occupation, that 1700 Jews were deported from Latvia to Siberia before the start of the Soviet-German war, and among the approximately 40 thousand inhabitants of Latvia who managed to evacuate before the arrival Germans, there could be up to 20 thousand Jews." Here it must be added that up to 5 thousand Jews of Latvia could be drafted into the Red Army or volunteered for it. It is known that before October 1941, 30,000 Jews were exterminated in Latvia. In late November and early December 1941, another 25,000 Jews were exterminated during two mass actions in the Rumbula Forest. After that, only 6,000 Jews remained in Latvia." According to the Latvian

465 Kepaisk Ropa/4. 'Te Beznpu oYo Eigore'5 Surzez. R. 183. According to Latvian historians, 2,000 people became victims of the Roma genocide (History of Latvia. XX century / Edited by Ilze Freiberga, Inesis Feldmanis. Translated from Latvian. Riga: J. T..M., 2005. WITH.

269.).

466 MagNp SPBeg. AChaz oYo Fe But] osach \$%. R. 244.

467 Holocaust in Latvia occupied by Germany // Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia. History of the occupation of Latvia (1940-1991). (BER://Ailili'. ata. douu/gaLa/a/51\${ogu/1fogu-0E-ossirayop/bcheypo-rareg3); 5 {gapda Ahag\$.



Te Ho] osach \$ w Ma71-Ossirea Gabla: 1941-1945 // Tie H1a4en apa Rot1a4en H1 \$ ogu oY Taba ip4eg 5o \ 1ef ap  
Ma71 ossirayop \$ 1940-1991 (ZutrosPia oY {Fe Soplp155101 oY Te N! opap z\$ oYo Gab \ a. \ o1. 14) / V1da: peak oE  
{fe N15fogu o! Gama, 2005. P 173.

468 1519. R. 172-173.

469 History of Latvia. XX century. pp. 268-269.

470 5hapda Aguas. Te Ho] osai \$ t Ma71-Ossir1ea Gala: 1941-1945. R 165.

historian Aivars Stranga, only 1,182 people survived the war, both among the local Jews and those deported to the territory of Latvia. ""'. If we assume that approximately 500 of the survivors were local Jews, then the total number of Latvian Jews who died as a result of the Holocaust, including here and 500 refugees from other countries, can be estimated at 60.5 thousand people. If we proceed from the fact that in Latvia before the German invasion, including refugees, 94.5 thousand Jews lived (94 thousand - the number of the Jewish population of Latvia in 1935, and, according to the assumption of Latvian historians, by 1941 it did not grow, since all natural growth was compensated by emigration), then the number of Jews in Latvia remaining under German occupation should have been not 61, but approximately 69.5 thousand. The difference could be formed mainly due to the fact that the proportion of Jews among the evacuees could be greater than Latvian historians suggest, and also due to the fact that not 5 thousand Jews served in the Red Army, as we assumed, based on the volume mobilization in 1941, and somewhat more. We believe that the number of Latvian Jews who died as a result of the Holocaust can be estimated at 60.5 thousand people. This is by 19.5 thousand people, or 24.4%, compared to the most common estimate of the number of victims of the Holocaust in Lithuania at 80 thousand people, given by M. Gilbert, and by about 7 thousand people, or 10.4%, less than the assessment given by Latvian historians. Latvian historians estimate the total number of victims of the Nazi occupation at 80-100 thousand people<sup>7</sup>. Based on our estimate of the number of Latvian Jews who died as a result of the final solution of the Jewish question, we tend to consider the lower estimate of the total number of civilian casualties at 80 thousand people closer to reality, including also the victims of German and Soviet bombing and ground fighting. It should be noted that within the framework of the euthanasia program for the mentally ill, carried out by Nazi Germany, 2271 mental patients were killed in Latvia. These victims are also victims of war.

We estimate the total number of inhabitants of Latvia who died during the Second World War at 117.1 thousand people. Of this number, 31 thousand people are accounted for by military casualties, and approximately the same number of Latvian residents died on the German and on the Soviet side - 15 and 16 thousand people, respectively.

#### Losses of

Lithuania Since until 1943 the Lithuanians, because of their cultural and racial proximity to the Poles, were not recognized by the Nazis as an Aryan people, until

of this time, unlike the indigenous population of Latvia and Estonia, they did not form combat units and subunits to participate in

471 History of Latvia. XX century. S. 269. 4772 Ibid.

473 Stankeras, Petras. Lithuanian police battalions. 1941-1945 years. M.: Veche, 2009. S. 60, 71, 88

battles on the Soviet-German front. Until that time, only police battalions were formed from Lithuanians, which were used for operations to finally resolve the Jewish question and to fight against the Polish partisans of the Home Army in southern Lithuania (in the area of the Vilna corridor) and against Soviet partisans in Belarus and the Pskov region, as well as against the abandoned to Lithuania by Soviet reconnaissance and sabotage detachments. By the end of 1941, about 7 thousand people served in the Lithuanian order police, and at the end of 1943, another 886 Lithuanians served in the criminal police and the security police. In September 1943, local self-defense detachments of about 8 thousand people and auxiliary police of 1636 people were also created. In the largest clash between the AK and the Lithuanian police in 1942, in the town of Nemenchyn, the Poles killed 60 Lithuanians, and those taken prisoner were stripped and released to their own in what their mother gave birth to. In addition to the order police, 26 Lithuanian police battalions were formed (in Estonia there were also 26 such battalions, and in Latvia - 51). Some of these battalions were called self-defense battalions, and they included many former soldiers of the Soviet 29th Lithuanian Territorial Rifle Corps and 8400 partisans - participants in the June uprising. Of the 26 Lithuanian battalions, 10 participated in the Holocaust to one degree or another. They were located not only in Lithuania, but also in Latvia, Ukraine, Russia and Poland. In 1943-1945, four Lithuanian battalions took part in the battles on the Soviet-German front. The number of all battalions was up to 20 thousand people. Part of the fighters of these battalions in 1944 were included in the 19th Latvian SS division ". A significant part of the former Lithuanian policemen, after the arrival of the Red Army in Lithuania, led a partisan struggle against the Soviet troops. In March 1945, the number of anti-Soviet resistance fighters was about 30,000 people"7. In addition to police battalions, 5,400 Lithuanians served in the German ground forces and 12,000 in the Luftwaffe. By January 24, 1945, there were 36.8 thousand Lithuanians in the police battalions and in the Wehrmacht." In total, about 1,000 Lithuanians who served in the German army and pro-German police units were killed in the fight against Soviet and Polish partisans and regular units of the Red Army"7. As of January 1, 1949, there were 955 Lithuanian prisoners of war in Soviet captivity, of which 89 had died by that time, 492 were released, 26 were repatriated to other states, 1 was convicted by a military tribunal, 25 were transferred to civilian camps.

474 Ibid. S. 126.

475 Ibid. S. 239.

476 Ibid. S. 234. 4777 Ibid.

P. 225. 478 Ibid. S. 215.

479 POWs, 1939-1956. S. 175.

interned, 300 people were transferred to the Gulag and prisons, and 22 remained in prisoner of war camps." Even taking into account the fact that some of the Lithuanians who served in the German army could later die in the Gulag, the overall mortality of captured Lithuanians seems low enough to accept the total number of deaths in the ranks of the German armed forces at 1 thousand people close to reality .

Lithuanians also served in the 16th Lithuanian Rifle Division of the Red Army. Initially, out of 15,000 personnel in this division, 10,000 were Lithuanian Jews. On May 22, 1942, out of 12,398 people, only 4,499 were Lithuanians, 6,000 were Jews, and the rest were Russians or representatives of other Soviet nationalities. At the beginning of 1943, the number of Jews in the division was reduced to 2,971 out of 10,251 personnel, and at the beginning of 1944, the proportion of Lithuanians in the Lithuanian Soviet division was reduced to a minimum - 32.6% of the personnel strength "1. According to Lithuanian historians, about 40,000 Lithuanians died in the Red Army, including those Soviet citizens who moved to Lithuania after June 1940, as well as those who served in two armies of the Polish Army formed in the USSR. Most of them were mobilized after the return of the Red Army to Lithuania. Probably, many of those Lithuanians who worked in the Reich as Ostarbeiters were also mobilized. Most of them did not serve in the 16th Rifle Division.

According to the authors of the book "Russia and the USSR in the Wars of the 20th Century", only 11.6 thousand Lithuanians died in the ranks of the Red Army"83. Taking into account the fact that, in general, the estimates of this collection underestimate the Soviet irretrievable losses by about three times and that not only Lithuanians, but also natives of Lithuania of other nationalities served in the Red Army, the figure of 11.6 thousand dead Lithuanians, in principle, does not contradict the estimate of 40 thousand dead residents of Lithuania. However, since the number of 11.6 thousand is too small, it is impossible to say with certainty whether they are underestimated three times or by a smaller amount.

The victims of the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1940-1941 are estimated at 5,665 arrested and 10,187 deported." According to estimates by Lithuanian historians, approximately 2,000 Lithuanians died during the broad anti-Soviet uprising that engulfed Lithuania after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war and was led by the Front of Lithuanian Activists, and this number includes those arrested and executed by the NKVD in Lithuanian prisons." The number of deaths among the deportees

480 Stankeras Petras. Lithuanian police battalions. P. 225. 481 Ibid. S. 215.

482 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 238, tab. 121.

483 Bugai N.F. L. Beria - to I. Stalin: "According to your instructions ..." M.: AIRO-XX, 1995. S. 187 (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the twentieth century. P. 29).

484 Kazgea Pasha! J. Gl'chashap Ve\$1\$apse {o Rogeot Ossirayop 1940-1952, GShlchapiz, Uo[ate 34, Mo. 3, EaP 1988. (Vlr://mgiii paw \$.0ot9/1988/88\_3\_01.V m).

485 Stankeras Petras. Lithuanian police battalions. S. 238.

we estimate at about 2 thousand people, given that in Latvia, approximately the same number of deportees account for more than 1.9 thousand deaths.

The total number of Lithuanians who died in the struggle against the Soviet regime or as a result of political repressions before 1956 is estimated by Lithuanian historians at 20,000 people." Considering that the main struggle of the Lithuanian partisans against the Red Army began after the end of World War II, the death toll until mid-1945 was unlikely to exceed 1,000 people.

The number of victims of the Roma genocide in Lithuania is estimated at 1,000. Probably about the same, 1,000. people was the total number of soldiers of the Home Army and civilian Polish and Lithuanian residents who died during the war between the Home Army and the Lithuanian police. The number of victims of the civilian population and Soviet partisans in the course of clashes with the Lithuanian police and German troops, we estimate at 2 thousand people, and repressions against the civilian population were carried out by both belligerents.

During the implementation of the final solution to the Jewish question, according to the most common estimate, 141 thousand Jews died. There are also higher estimates of 210,000 Jews killed in Lithuania"8. But they are clearly overestimated and also include Jews deported to Lithuania for extermination from Germany and other countries of Western Europe. However, it seems to us somewhat exaggerated. The fact is that the activities of the German Einsatzkommandos in the liquidation of the Jews of Lithuania are very well documented. So, in the report of the head of the Einsatzkommando of the 3rd Einsatzgruppe A, SS Standartenführer Karl Jaeger, who operated on the territory of the General District of Lithuania, dated December 1, 1941, it was reported that 99,804 people were killed between July 2 and November 30. Of this number, only 740 people were non-Jews (mostly they passed as Lithuanian and Russian communists, and 573 people from among those shot in Daugavpils were simply called "active communists" and, probably, were Russians, Belarusians and Latvians by nationality). In addition, the 99,804 executed include at least 4,934 Jews deported to Lithuania from Berlin, Munich, Frankfurt am Main, Breslau, and Vienna, while 9,012 Jews executed in Dunaburg (Daugavpils) were obviously Latvian Jews. and not Lithuania. Thus, the total number of Lithuanian Jews killed between July 2 and November 30, 1941 can be estimated at 85,118. After that, according to K. Jaeger, only

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Ropa/a Kepapsk 487 , Te Rezishu oYo Yeogor'\$ Surze\$. P183. 486  
SIBegE Magit . AChaz oYo Te But] osachz%. R. 244.

488 MacOpeep, M! pile! (). "Tie Soshchekhk oYo Mazz Resegistop: Adegoz apa Rgegechi Nez oYo {ye No] 1ocai \$ sh  
GIBaashsha". But]ocai\$ { ana Cepos1ae 5a4e\$, 1998, \a1. 1, #12. RR: 27-48.

489 Germany's war against the Soviet Union 1941-1945. Documentary exposition of the city of Berlin on the 50th anniversary of the German attack on the Soviet Union. Per. with him.

Berlin: Agdop, 1992, pp. 118-119.

only about 34.5 thousand local Jews in the ghettos of Siauliai, Kaunas and Vilna (Vilnius), employed in various jobs. And according to the report of the head of Einsatzgruppe A, Brigadeführer Walter Stahlecker on the activities of the Einsatzgruppe until October 15, 1941, it follows that before the beginning of July, when Jaeger's team arrived in Lithuania, about 5 thousand Jews were killed there. This destruction was carried out by Lithuanian "partisans" (irregular police forces) on the orders of the Germans, but in such a way that it looked like spontaneous pogroms initiated by the local population. Almost all local Jews who remained in Lithuania by December 1, 1941 were also destroyed. Survived, according to various estimates, from 2 to 3 thousand Jews of Lithuania, liberated by the Red Army from concentration camps, and about 1.5-2 thousand Jews who managed to escape from the Kaunas and Vilnius ghettos? If we take the average number of surviving Jews in Lithuania as 4.25 thousand people, then the total number of killed Lithuanian Jews can be estimated at 120.25 thousand people, which is 20.85 thousand people, or 14.8%, lower the most common estimate is 141,000 Jewish dead in Lithuania. Considering that before December 1, 1941, only 167 non-Jews were killed by the Germans and their Lithuanian accomplices, the total number of victims of Nazi repressions among the non-Jewish and non-Gypsy population is no more than 1 thousand people.

We estimate the total number of Lithuanians who died in World War II (including the Vilna region) at 171.25 thousand people, of which the military accounts for no more than 45 thousand people.

#### Austrian losses

Austrian losses are included in German losses. According to some estimates, up to 1,306,000 Austrians served in the German armed forces." If this estimate is correct, then the share of Austrians in the draft to the Wehrmacht turns out to be approximately equal to 7.3% of the total number of mobilized 17.9 million people, compared with the share of the Austrian population (6.65 million people) of 8.25% of the total number the population of the Reich by the beginning of 1939 (with the Sudetenland) of 80.6 million people. The difference probably formed due to the fact that in the interwar period, due to the restrictions imposed by the Treaty of Saint-Germain, conscription into the Austrian army was not carried out and by the beginning of World War II there were no contingents of trained reservists in Austria. Therefore, the proportion of conscripts in Austria was lower than in the Reich as a whole.

490 The extermination of the Jews of the USSR during the German occupation (1941-1944). Collection of documents and materials / Ed. Yitzhak Arad. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; M.: Text, 1992. S. 118.

491 ViBpuz\$ Ag ipaz . But] osach \$ e GIBOASCHA: An Oi Ishe oE Fe Ma]og Z {ades apa TVeg VezaTs \$ // Tre Uatshzia Mona oE Gl'chatap] emgz. Atz{edat: Vodor1, 2004. R. 218-219.

492 Ouerman\$ V. Reizsve shPka[g15sVe Uega\$e pi 7mepcep Meikchests. 5. 333, Tab. 72b.

493 Egitet S. Roroyop SVapdez w Eigore zshse 1939. R 38.

According to post-war estimates, in the ranks of the German armed forces, 143 thousand people died on the battlefield and died from wounds, diseases and in captivity, and another 85 thousand were reported missing. Based on the proportion that we have adopted for the German armed forces, that out of about 2.2 million missing, 0.9 million people, or 40.9%, are dead. Then the number of dead Austrians from among the missing can be estimated at 35 thousand people, and the total irretrievable losses of the Austrian population in the Wehrmacht (including the SS troops) - at 178 thousand people. According to official Russian data, out of 156,681 captured Austrians, 10,891 people died in Soviet captivity"®.

The losses of the civilian population of Austria are estimated at about 24 thousand victims of air bombardments, 2.7 thousand anti-fascists executed by the Nazis, about 32 thousand Austrians who died in prisons and concentration camps, including 6.5 thousand Roma. Approximately 65,000 more Jews in Austria became victims of the "Final Solution to the Jewish Question" in '96. More than half of the 200 thousand Austrian Jews managed to leave the country in 1938-1940.

Thus, we estimate the total losses of Austria at 302 thousand dead, of which about 178 thousand fall on military personnel.  
Human.

#### Czechoslovak losses

The losses of those who were called up to the Wehrmacht and the SS troops from the territory of the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and from the Sudetenland are included in the losses of the German armed forces. Considering that there were about 3.5 million Sudeten Germans, the losses among them in the Wehrmacht could reach up to 150 thousand people, taking into account that they lived in industrial areas, where the proportion of conscripts was lower. How many Czechs died in the Wehrmacht is unknown. It is only known that 69,977 Czechs and Slovaks fell into Soviet captivity, of which 4,023 people died in captivity.

According to the Czech historian K. Patsner, 4,570 Czechs and Slovaks died fighting in the Red Army, and 3,220 died in the troops of the Western Allies. In addition, approximately 5 thousand Czechs died in

494 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198.

495 Etfazu o Atzma, \Maztoop, O.S. Ch\$A, Vshe o She M 2\$ (Bir://Agili. a.ogo/sokept\1em!81/95/1/1/); Aiz{a Surz1ez // Te [gary oJ Condges\$ Soptitu 511 1e\$; STA UMopa Ras Book. Aya

p: /iigig.rhotaz.com/somiez/acza/zosletu/achl1a\_zosebu durzez.B 11); Ropala Kepansk, Te Rezitu o{ Epgor's Surzes. M.U.: Vaz1s Book \$ 1972. P. 184.

496 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198.

497 Raspeg K. Ozadouye oKat7tZhu SezKozouen \$ Ka-RgaVa 1997. P. 270 (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population

losses in the 20th century. P. 54). The Russian official number of Czechoslovak soldiers who died in the ranks of the 1st Czechoslovak Corps, operating

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the composition of the Red Army - 4011 people (Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, table. 198). Probably, this figure is underestimated compared to the real one.

part of the Wehrmacht, and 7 thousand Slovaks - in the ranks of the allied Germany of the Slovak army (including those who died in captivity). The victims among the Czech partisans amounted to 450 people, and among the Slovak ones - 1720. Among the participants in the uprising in Prague and other Czech cities in 1945, from 5 to 8 thousand people died, including in Prague, according to various estimates, from 2 to 5 thousand. Human". About 7,500 Roma also died on the territory of Czechoslovakia." Of the civilian population, 10 thousand Czechs and 5.3 thousand Slovaks were killed during punitive operations and executed in prisons. In addition, 7,000 Czechs and Slovaks died in concentration camps? About 277,000 Jews were exterminated in Czechoslovakia as part of the Holocaust. We tend to accept the upper estimate of the number of victims of the 1945 uprisings, assuming that civilian casualties are also included here. We estimate the total number of deaths of Czechs, Slovaks, Jews and Gypsies at 335,000, of which only about 20,000 were killed by servicemen. Those who died during the uprisings of 1945, we classify as civilian casualties.

population.

#### Polish losses

The modern official figure for Poland's losses in World War II is 5.62-5.82 million people within the borders on September 1, 1939. This figure was released by the Polish Institute of National Remembrance in 2009. Previously, the figure of 6028 thousand dead Poles and Polish Jews was adopted, put into circulation by the communist regime in 1946. We will try to estimate Polish losses within the borders on September 1, 1939, i.e. with the inclusion of the Vilna region, Western Belarus and Western Ukraine. According to a 2009 estimate, approximately 150,000 Polish citizens, including the victims of Katyn, died at the hands of the Red Army and the hands of the NKVD. This obviously includes the soldiers of the Home Army and the soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army who died in clashes with the Soviet troops before May 9, 1945, as well as the loss of civilians. The 2009 estimate also includes approximately 3 million dead Polish Jews<sup>9</sup>?. Note that here we simply take the most common estimate of the number of victims of the Holocaust in Poland at 3 million

498 RopaJa Kepapsk , Tje Rezishtu oYo Echgore\$ Surzez. M.U.: Vaz1s Bookk \$ 1972.R. 184

499 Raspeg K. Ozi4ouye oKat7Zhu SezKooouenzKa. R. 270. (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the 20th century. P. 54).

500 Magen SPIEGER . AChaz oYo Te ButJosap\$1. R. 244.

501 Updated data on Poland's losses during World War II published // Radio Liberty, 2009, August 26  
14=1808368#1x770PK1pOdoE);  
Umo] s1esv MaerzK1 an Tota\$7 Ztagoba. Ro] 5Ka 1939-1945. E{gafu ozobome 1 obagu gergezy ro Chmlet  
oKiras]ato1. \Vyar5tama: shi oYo Manopa]1 Vetnitharpce(TRM), 2009.

502 Magit SIBEG. ACHYAZ oYo Te Noosanz+. R. 244; Sgedottu, EgatKt. Roranop SBapdez t Eogore eshse 1939. R.  
115-126.

people, including 1 million - in the territories occupied by the USSR<sup>o</sup>3.

According to a breakdown by category of losses of their total number of 6028 thousand people,  
published in 1947, 123,718 thousand people accounted for the loss of military personnel, 3.2 million  
people for the loss of Jews and 2.7 million for the loss of Polish civilians “.

It must be emphasized that due to the extremely significant change in the borders of the Polish  
state in 1939-1945 and significant migrations of the population, no demographic  
assessment of the total value of Polish losses in the war based on a comparison of data  
from pre-war and post-war population censuses is in principle impossible. Estimates of Polish  
losses were dictated mainly by political considerations. Thus, the estimate of 6028 thousand dead  
was dictated primarily by the consideration that the victims of ethnic Poles at least slightly  
exceeded the victims of Polish Jews (3.028 million and 3 million people, respectively).

The Polish emigrant Franciszek Proch estimates Poland's losses at 6,090,000, of  
which 5,040,000 are victims of German actions, and 1,050,000 are victims of Soviet actions. Military  
losses in the war against Germany, according to F. Proch, account for 295,000 dead, including  
32,000 Jews. This estimate seems to us to be significantly overestimated. Taking into account the  
fact that Jews made up no more than 13% of the population of Poland, and their share in the army,  
especially in combat units, was even smaller, no more than 7 thousand Jews could have died  
in the 1939 campaign. The losses of the Polish armed forces, mainly the Home Army, in the fight  
against the Soviet troops are estimated at 65 thousand people, including the victims of Katyn. The  
losses of the civilian population of Polyp during the Polish-German war in September 1939 are  
estimated at 500 thousand people, including 50 thousand Jews, and the loss of the civilian  
population during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 - at 100 thousand people. F. Proch estimated the  
casualties of the Polish civilian population as a result of the actions of the Soviet troops in  
1944-1945 at 50 thousand people. He considers 4,145,000 civilians, including 2,350,000 Jews,  
victims of Nazi terror, and 935,000 people, including 100,000 Jews, victims of Soviet terror. F. Proch  
estimates the total number of Polish Jews who died during the war years at 2,532,000,  
of which 2,350,050 can be considered victims of the Holocaust.

Another Polish researcher, Tadeusz Piotrovsky, adheres to a lower estimate  
of Poland's losses of 5.6 million people. He estimates the number of victims of the German  
occupation and the Holocaust at 5150 thousand people, the number of victims of the Soviet occupation  
of 1939-1941 - at 350 thousand.



people, and the number of victims among the Polish population during

503 Roap. Vigeai o4 \$ 7 Kko Chomlap modeppusv, Zbayetlepe op \ mag 1055ez apa Chatadez oYo Ro] apa t 1939-1945. M'agzam 1947.

504 RgosV, Egaps! sgek Pro |. Ro]apa\$ M/au oYo Fe Sgos\$. M.W.: ROY\$V Azzosiope oyo  
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roP&s\$1 rt1zopeg\$ oYo Ma71 ap Zo\1ef sopsetitaNop satr, 1987. P. 146.

505 Pyuyogou5E Taaezg . Ro]apa My Magician P SaziahSez // Pro]esyo t Rozegit. Preseg/ ta {e times Rog {de Vboge, 2005 (VER://  
mgili'.rgo]esipro\$egit.ogd/4oss/ro]ana\_MUMLT sazcaShez.Bt).

Ukrainian-Polish war in Volhynia and Galicia in 1943-1944 in 100 thousand people.  
According to T. Piotrovsky, 3.1 million Jews died, 2 million Poles and 500 thousand Ukrainians, Belarusians and Germans."

Of the losses of the civilian population of Poland, according to the  
American Bureau of the Census, 3 million fall on the modern territory of Poland, and 2  
million on the territory of Poland annexed by the USSR:

Polish researcher Czeslaw Luchak estimates Poland's losses at 5.9-6.0 million dead  
and dead, including 2.9-3.0 million Jews. He estimates the losses of the Poles at 2 million  
people, including 1.5 million people on the territory of Poland occupied by Germany, and  
0.5 million people occupied first by the Soviet Union and then by Germany. C. Luchak  
believes that about 1 million Ukrainians and Belarusians who lived within the Polish  
borders of 1939 also died. Did they make up about 20% of the population of pre-war Poland?  
8.

Significantly, none of the Polish estimates of the losses of Polysky in World War II  
single out the losses of the Germans who lived in Poland before 1939. According to  
German estimates, about 108 thousand former citizens of Polyp died in the Wehrmacht,  
mainly Volksdeutsche, but also a number of ethnic Poles. The total German population  
of Poland, according to the 1931 census, was 741 thousand people, including 90.2  
thousand in the territories subsequently annexed by the USSR? In 1939-1941, most of  
the Germans from these territories returned to the German-occupied Polish General Government.  
By the end of 1939, the German population of Poland could have increased to 822 thousand  
people. The number of victims among the civilian German population during  
the deportations of 1945-1948 could be up to 50 thousand people. 60,277 Poles who  
served in the Wehrmacht fell into Soviet captivity. 3128 of them died in captivity.  
"Obviously, these dead are included in the 108 thousand dead Wehrmacht soldiers  
called up from the territory of Poland.

Polish researcher Andrzej Paczkowski estimates the number of Poles who  
died as a result of Soviet repression at 120-130 thousand people.

507 EsgaK of Tears {au . Stage 1 {gaChposs1 Bapza detodgaisttedo Po] m' ]1abab 1939-1945 //rale]e Madpo\mg7e  
Vost K XHT. Wagztamga, 1994

508 [Ge aezswep Ueptefipdzue \$. Veutschegipashyartep Fgg @e Chezswep Uezteopoazdeae  
1939/50. NegativeDesign: SiseExpress WipDeSatf - \UizDeade. - ABOUT E9dagE: Wayad M. Koptashteg,  
1958.

509 Suugpu Otga@ Zlabuzustpu. Ogid1 romzhesppu \$r1\$ Sh@9po5\$s! 7 ata 9 Khl 1931. Rogiagte 1 w\$&gax]e  
sp15o\le. Mu'agzam: Sfumtu Ogkha4 E{abuzustpu, 1932.

510 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198.

511 Op. By: Soiguo15 ZerVape. Twe Nask Vook oYo Soshtuatz: Sgiyaez, Teggog, Verge\$\$1op, Naguaga  
Otmu Rt, 1999. P 372.

people, believing that out of 1 million deported Poles, 90-100 thousand people died, and about 30 thousand more were shot "!. However, the number of those deported here is overestimated by almost three times, and not all of them were ethnic Poles. The number of those executed is probably approximately true, but this includes not only Poles, but also Belarusians, Ukrainians and Jews. 21,857 Poles, including 14,552 officers and police officers and 7,305 civilians, were executed by decision of the Politburo on March 5, 1940 in May-June of the same year in Katyn and other places"!. In addition, during the retreat of Soviet troops from Western Ukraine and Western Belarus in the summer of 1941, the NKVD shot at least 6348 people during the evacuation of prisons, including 2464 people in the Lvov region, 1101 people in the Drohobych region, 1000 people in the Stanislavov region, 692 people in Tarnopol region, 230 people in the Rivne region, 231 people in the Volyn region and at least 630 people in prisons in Western Belarus." According to the Russian researcher Pavel Polyak, in 1940-1941, about 276 thousand Poles and refugees from Poland were deported from Western Ukraine and Western Belarus, among whom there were some Jews, as well as about 11 thousand Ukrainians and 21 thousand Belarusians "!. However, NKVD documents give higher figures. In a certificate dated May 1, 1944, signed by People's Commissar of Internal Affairs L.P. Beria noted that as of September 1, 1941, 389,382 Polish citizens expelled from Western Ukraine and Western Belarus were counted, including 25,314 in prisoner of war camps. Since almost all of them were released under the amnesty of August 12, 1941, in this case we are talking only about Poles and Jews. Mortality among the deportees was high. Until July 1, 1941, 12,313 Poles and Jews died. With this in mind, the death rate among Ukrainians and Belarusians should have been about 1 thousand people. The total number of deportees from the former Polish lands can be estimated at 434 thousand people. Another 11,516 Poles and Jews died between 1 July 1941 and the end of 1943. Taking into account the fact that before that 119,855 soldiers of the Anders army and their families were released to Iran, and 36,510 people were transferred to the pro-Soviet Polish army of Zygmunt Berling, the mortality rate among the remaining Poles and Jews was about 4.9%16. With this in mind, mortality

512 Katyn case //Military archives of Russia. Issue. 1. M., 1993. S. 124-128.

513 Evacuation of prisoners from prisons of the NKVD of the USSR in 1941-1942. Publication A.I. Kokurina // Military Historical Archive. Higher 2. M., 1997. S. 240-246, 248-253.

514 Polyan P. Geography of forced migrations in the USSR// Population and society. Information Bulletin of the Center for Human Demography and Ecology of the Institute of Economic Forecasting of the Russian Academy of Sciences. 1999. No. 37. S. 1-4.

515 Bugay N.F. Deportation of Poles // Observer. 1994. - No. 10-11. (BER://igilig.gai.zi/oBseguer/M10-11\_94/18.Vt).

516 The contribution of Poland and the Poles to the Allied victory in World War II 1939-1945. Warsaw: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, 2005, pp. 3, 5-6, 14, 18-19, 24-25, 28-29, 30, 34; Account of

losses and war damage inflicted on Poland in 1939-1945. Warsaw, 1947. S. 36. (quoted from: Uralnis B.Ts.

Wars and population of Europe. S. 235).

among the Ukrainians and Belarusians deported from Eastern Polyp should have been about 1.5 thousand people. In total, the victims of the Soviet repressions of 1940-1941 were approximately 26.3 thousand who died in custody and exile, and approximately 28.2 thousand were shot. In total, this gives 54.5 thousand victims, including at least 14.6 thousand military personnel.

In total, about 2 million Poles fought in regular military formations and partisan detachments. The losses of the Polish armed forces, according to modern Polish official data, amounted to:

About 70 thousand killed and missing, 250 thousand prisoners during the battles with German troops from September 1 to October 5, 1939.

6-7 thousand dead and missing, 250 thousand captured in battles with Soviet troops on September 17-30, 1939.

34 thousand soldiers of the Home Army who died before the start of the Warsaw Uprising. Even up to 6 thousand dead could have been the losses of the partisans of the communist People's Army and other groups not directly connected with the Home Army.

10 thousand fighters of the Home Army and the rebels from the People's Army and other detachments who joined them were killed, 7 thousand were missing during the Warsaw Uprising on August 1 - October 2, 1944. 17 thousand rebels were captured. 150,000 civilians in Warsaw were killed, and 520,000 residents were deported from the city.

20-30 thousand soldiers of the Home Army, interned by Soviet troops and exiled to Siberia.

2.1 thousand soldiers of the Polish army died in battles in France in May - June 1940 and in Norway in April - June 1940.

2.6 thousand Polish soldiers died in battles in North Africa in 1942-

1943 and in Italy in 1943-1945.

5.3 thousand Polish soldiers died in battles on the Western Front after landing in Normandy in June 1944 - May 1945.

17.5 thousand Polish soldiers died and 10 thousand went missing as part of two armies of the Polish Army on the Soviet-German front in 1943-1945?"

In addition, about 12,000 Poles died in German POW camps." Such a small number of casualties among the Poles who found themselves in German captivity is explained by the fact that they were under the protection of the Geneva Convention on the Treatment of Prisoners of War, and the Germans did not use mass repressions against them.

In October 1945, in the camps and prisons of the NKVD there were "27,100 Polish citizens, Poles by nationality, arrested and interned in 1944-1945 on the territory of Poland in order to clear the rear of the active Red Army." 12,289 of them were supposed to be released, and 14,725 people, including command staff

517 Rapes T. Wzcek 2goru Ro] m P \moime 5myayu\me] /Mo]5Komgu Rt2gedaa N!Sogustrvu, 1995, #. 1-2, R. 13-18.

518 Bugay N.F. Deportations of the Poles.

Home Army, leave in custody.' It can be assumed, that

most of those who remained remained in prison until the mid-1950s. If we assume that their mortality during this time is no less than that of those who were deported in 1940-1941, then about 0.9 thousand AK fighters should have died in Soviet captivity. Probably at least another 1,000 AK fighters died in 1943-1945 in skirmishes with Soviet troops and partisans.

The total losses of the Polish armed forces can be estimated at about 199.9 thousand people, including here the officers who were shot at Katyn.

According to Polish estimates, by the beginning of 1939, the population of the territories annexed by the USSR was 13,299 thousand people, of which 5,274 thousand were Poles, and 1,109 thousand people were Jews. In addition, 138,000 Poles and 198,000 Jews arrived in these territories as refugees. Some of them returned to the General Government before 1941. By the middle of 1941, up to 1,340 thousand Jews could have ended up in the Polish territories annexed by the USSR, taking into account the natural increase of 1940-1941. Of these, up to 50 thousand could die in the ranks of the Red Army.

The total non-Jewish and non-Polish population of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus at the end of 1939 can be estimated at 6916 thousand people. By the middle of 1941, its number due to natural growth could increase to 7.1 million people. Their losses during the Great Patriotic War, based on our estimate of the total Soviet losses, can be estimated at 0.6 million people, including

who died both in the ranks of the Red Army and in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Soviet partisans and pro-German collaborationist formations, as well as as a result of repressions by the German occupation authorities.

According to the 1931 census, 3130.6 thousand Jews lived in Poland. It is assumed that due to emigration, the number of the Jewish population did not increase by 1939 due to the high level of emigration of the Jewish population. So, from 1921 to 1937, 395 thousand Jews left Poland for the USA, Latin America and Europe; from 1923 to 1937 more than 270,000 Polish Jews moved to Palestine. It can be assumed that in 1932-1938 about 289 thousand Jews left Poland. And if the growth rate of the Jewish population were equal to the average Polish, then by the beginning of 1939 it would have grown by 340 thousand people. Thus, by the beginning of 1939, the Jewish population of Poland could have increased to no more than 3192 thousand people, and by the end of 1939, due to natural increase, it should have increased to 3237 thousand people.

If we accept the traditional estimate of the number of victims of the Holocaust in Poland

519 SOOCIS1SE kayzysa| veag-jook oYo Roapa, RoyzV Mnizyu oYo pogtaNop. Gopdop Tape 1941 R 9-10. RyutomzK, Taechz7. Roapa'5 Noosachz{. Jherson (No. C.): McRayap & Sotrapu, Gps., 1998. P 14.

520 Mato\lz7e 971ee itching m Ro]ce m gayuze (before 1950 goki). Gea genus. ]. Totazhemiveao.

M/atztamga: MGudamlt1s6\o MapKolmge R\LM, 1993. 5.5. 164, 165.

521 Lu2eÿ Tigoï'\$K!; l/4aay\$ {au 51eta\$2Ko  
aokopape  
pa 199 p05s! poj1\$K1e] pa M'o{usha, 1939-1945.

in million people, then about 131 thousand people were able to escape the Holocaust. However, as we have already established in relation to Lithuania and Latvia, where the number of victims of the Holocaust was calculated quite accurately according to German documents, the true number of deaths turned out to be lower than the most common estimate by 14.8% and 24.4%, respectively. If we apply the coefficient obtained for Lithuania, where the number of Jews is much larger than in Latvia, and the conditions of the Holocaust were close to those in Poland, then the number of victims of the Holocaust in Poland can be estimated at 2.56 million people. Then the approximate number of Jews who escaped the Holocaust can be estimated at 681,000 Jews. Of this number, according to our estimates, about 7 thousand died in the Polish army, and at least 50 thousand - in the Red Army. In addition, several tens of thousands of Jews evacuated to the eastern regions of the USSR could die from starvation and disease.

In this work, we do not set ourselves the goal of determining the total number of victims of the Holocaust and their distribution by country. This requires a very serious and necessarily international monographic study. Based on the general overestimation of the traditional number of Holocaust victims of 6 million people by at least 15%, we estimate the total number of victims of the final solution of the Jewish question in Europe at 5.1 million people. This number does not include those Jews who died in

armies of the fighting states, and in the territory not occupied by Germany from hunger and disease.

It is much more difficult to assess the losses of the Polish civilian population, both in the General Government and in the territory of Western Ukraine, Western Belarus and Vilna. Losses from Soviet deportations and repressions probably amounted to at least 37.2 thousand people (including Poles and Jews). But as for the repressions of the Germans in relation to the Polish civilian population, there are no reliable numerical data. In particular, there is no data on exactly how many Poles were sent to concentration camps and how many of them died there. It is also unknown how many Poles were shot as hostages or died as a result of German punitive actions against partisans and the Polish underground. There is also no summary data based on primary sources on the number of Poles who became victims of hostilities in 1939 and 1944-1945.

The official figure of 150,000 civilians from Warsaw who died during the Warsaw Uprising raises doubts. It is based on the assertion of the German governor in Poland, Hans Frank, who, in a report on the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising, claimed that 200,000 rebels had been killed. Later, as we have already noted, much more realistic figures of insurgent losses appeared. As for the loss of 150,000 civilians, it seems absolutely fantastic. By the beginning of the Warsaw Uprising, due to the destruction of local Jews, losses during the first siege in 1939, the presence of a significant part of the Varsovians in prisoner of war camps or in Polish troops outside the country, as well as the movement of many residents of the capital to the countryside in search of food, there were fewer population than in Budapest by the beginning of street fighting on December 24-25, 1944. The fighting in Budapest lasted 51 days, only 12 days less than the fighting in Warsaw, and the Soviet troops rained down an order of magnitude more bombs and shells on the Hungarian capital than the Germans.

troops on Warsaw in August - September 1944. But the victims of the civilian population of Budapest are estimated at only 38 thousand people, and for the most part these were deaths from starvation, and not from hostilities. There could also be famine in Warsaw due to the cessation of the supply of food, but the total number of victims among the civilian population of the Polish capital was unlikely to exceed 40,000 deaths both from starvation and from hostilities. At the same time, it must be emphasized that there was no famine in Poland during the war years. Agriculture, despite the requisitions, produced enough food. The famine was artificially created only in the Jewish ghettos, but it was part of the Nazi policy to exterminate the Jews.

The number of victims of partisan and underground struggle in the ranks of the Home Army before the Warsaw Uprising, as we have already noted, is estimated at 34 thousand dead and executed. With casualties among the partisans of the pro-communist Mlyudova Guard, the total number of deaths probably reaches 40 thousand. It can be assumed that approximately the same number of civilians became victims of German punitive operations and the execution of hostages.

The number of victims of hostilities among the Poles in 1939 and 1944-1945 we conditionally estimate at 50 thousand people. It should be said that no reports of this type of loss were made in hot pursuit, therefore, all existing estimates of the number of civilians in Poland,

perished in the course of hostilities, conditional.

As a result of the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1943-1944 in Volhynia and Galicia, Poles' casualties are estimated at between 35,000 and 60,000 people. To date, 33,454 Polish victims in Volhynia have been identified by name. Taking into account the fact that some of the victims have not yet been established, we estimate the number of Poles who died in Volhynia at 40-45 thousand people, and in Galicia - at 20-25 thousand people. The most probable total estimate is 85,000 dead. The losses of Ukrainians, which are estimated at 15-20 thousand people in Volhynia and Galicia, are included by us in the sum of Ukrainian and Belarusian losses of 0.6 million people. Of this amount, up to half are those who died in the Red Army.

The number of victims of the Roma genocide in Poland is estimated at 35 thousand people<sup>??3</sup>. Perhaps this estimate is also exaggerated.

In 2006, the Polish non-governmental organization Karta began to create a database of war victims. By the summer of 2009, the bank had about 1.5 million names, and the founders of the bank hope to double this number in the next three years. One of the project leaders, historian Andrzej Kunert, believes that the total number of deaths during the Second World War within the borders of Poland in 1939 is significantly less than the figure of 6,028 thousand deaths put into circulation by the communists (28 thousand were added to 6 million to give the figure a loss of visibility of accuracy) and in reality, they amount to about 4.5 million victims. Although the historian theoretically admits that the death toll could reach 7-8 million

522 Kapaish Ropa! A . Tve Bestu oE Eigore\$ Surz1e\$. R. 18.

523 Slagpeska Mala. PoJan Boopg\$ Mpa M/ag P y1sitz w suBer srace // RoisV Me\mgs, 2009, 28 Jane.

Human<sup>??</sup>". An estimate of the total losses of Poland at 4.5 million people seems to us the closest to reality. If we accept this value, then a rough estimate of the number of Poles who died in German prisons and concentration camps, as well as in forced labor in Germany, can be obtained by subtracting from the figure of total losses all other categories of losses, namely: losses of the Polish armed forces and partisans in 199 .9 thousand people; 2.56 million victims of the Holocaust; 50 thousand Jews who died in the ranks of the Red Army, 39.9 thousand were victims of Soviet deportations and repressions among the Polish and Jewish civilian population; 65 thousand - the victims of the Poles in the war with the Ukrainians in Western Ukraine in 1943-1944; 0.6 million - losses of Ukrainians and Belarusians; 50 thousand - the victims of the Poles as a result of hostilities in Poland in 1939 and 1944-1945; 40 thousand - victims of the civilian population of Warsaw during the 1944 uprising; 40 thousand - victims of the Polish civilian population as a result of anti-partisan actions and executions of hostages; 35 thousand - victims of the gypsy genocide; 108 thousand people - Poles and Polish Germans who died in the ranks of the Wehrmacht; 50 thousand - Polish Germans who died during the expulsion from Polyp in 1945-1946. Then the Poles who died in concentration camps and as a result of forced labor accounted for 567 thousand deaths. The total losses of the Poles reach 1.23 million people, if we accept that among the dead in the Wehrmacht, the Germans accounted for two-thirds, and the Poles - one-third.

Thus, we estimate the losses of Poland at 4.5 million people, of which at least 550 thousand people fall to the share of dead military personnel.

#### Hungarian losses

The losses of the Hungarian army in World War II amounted to 110-120 thousand killed and died of wounds. "We will accept the upper estimate of 120 thousand dead.

28,000 people became victims of the Roma genocide." The number of Jews who died in Hungary within the borders at the beginning of 1939, i.e. without the territories of Romania and Yugoslavia annexed in 1940-1941, but with the inclusion of Transcarpathian Ukraine and Southern Slovakia, is estimated at 200 thousand people?" On the territory of the so-called Trianon Hungary (within the borders of 1920, without annexed territories), the decline in the Jewish population in 1941-1946 amounted to 169.4 thousand people °?.

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524 ZagK Tbta5. Nipdaguz Nitap Go\$5e\$ w My M/ag P. Orrzala Chshu. 1995. 525 Kepaisk Ropa! A . TVe Bezetu oYo Eigore\$ Surzez. R. 183. 526 SIBeg Maget. AChaz o {Te Butjosach\$ %. R. 244.

527 Ra]osio Gaiga. `TVe Butjosach\$& w Nipdaguz. Te Pprobapse oYo Sep4er, Ade apa SeodgarVu Rog {Te jemlzV Exretepse // Tre AaBata Coyo Coa\$ But] osachz{ bragy, fez 1.1, 1.2. (Blr://mllVuegu|op\1emg.cell/M/ATN/ezzay\$/ pa1o5io.V 11)

528 Zagk T bta\$ . Nipdaguz Nipdayap jem\$ Ritod {Fe Noosai\$ { apa AEer {Be sopa WonA Mag, 1939-1949: A Z{au\$Yasa1 Vememkh. M. U: Soat Ba OshhuerzYu Prezz, 2000. PP. 110-114.

T. Stark estimates the number of victims of the Holocaust in Hungary in the mid-1941 borders at 450-540 thousand people??. We accept Stark's lower estimate as the most probable, i.e., we proceed from the fact that 450,000 Jews perished in Hungary within the 1941 borders. From this figure it is necessary to subtract approximately 20-25 thousand Jews who died in the labor battalions of the Hungarian army? Here we will also use the lower estimate of 20,000 dead. Also, approximately 8 thousand Jews who died during the siege of Budapest in December 1944 - February 1945 must be subtracted from this number. Some 7,000 more Jews were killed during the siege of Budapest by German and Hungarian soldiers and members of the Hungarian far-right Arrow Cross party and should be counted among the victims of the Holocaust?'. Then the victims of the Holocaust itself, i.e. representatives of the peaceful Jewish population of Hungary, exterminated by the Nazis, will amount to 422 thousand people. In Soviet captivity there were 10,173 Jews and 383 Gypsies?3?. Almost all of them were members of the Hungarian army. By June 27, 1945, only 5,016 Jews remained in Soviet captivity. It can be assumed that, taking into account the fact that until the middle of 1945, from



1225 Jews were released from Soviet captivity, at least 3.8 thousand Hungarian Jews died in Soviet captivity. The victims of the Roma genocide in Hungary are estimated at 28,000?3. 383 Gypsies turned out to be in Soviet captivity. They probably all served in the Hungarian army. In Soviet captivity, as we will see later, 51 gypsies died. The increased mortality of Hungarian Jews in Soviet captivity was apparently due to the fact that almost all of them were captured in the harsh winter of 1942/43. Taking into account Jews and Gypsies, the total number of prisoners of war in the Hungarian army can be estimated at 524.3 thousand people. According to official Russian data, out of 513,767 captured Hungarians, 54,755 people died in captivity ° 3?. As the Hungarian researcher Tama Stark notes, the total number of Hungarian prisoners in the USSR is about 600 thousand people, of which 40% were civilian prisoners who did not serve in the army. He estimates the size of the Hungarian army in the autumn of 1944 at almost 1 million people, of which by February 1945 almost

529 ZagK Tbtaz\$ . Nipdag'u5 Nitap G.o5sez w My MVag P. Chrrza1a Exc. 1995.

530 Ipdtuagu Ki5zhap . Your og Vidarez. Ope Nipage4 Rouse sh MopAa \ U \ ag P. Tgap] 1a \ fea Kot Nipdayap.

Gondop: G.V.Tait1\$ & So Da, 2003. P 330, file 25.

531 Galitsky V.P. Enemy prisoners of war in the USSR (1941-1945) // VIZH, 1990, No. 9. P. 46, tab. 5.

532 Ropa/a Kepamsk TV Obezetu oYo Eigore'\$ Surzez. R. 183. 533 Galitsky V.P. Enemy prisoners of war in the USSR (1941-1945). S. 46, tab. 5. 534 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab. 198.

535 Prisoners of war in the USSR. 1939-1956. Collection of documents / Ed. MM. Zagorulko. M.: Logos, 2000. S. 1039-1040, Appendix No. 10.

half deserted and ended up on the territory already occupied by Soviet troops - 65 thousand soldiers and officers with weapons in their hands went over to the side of the Red Army. Most of them fled from the spare parts or, having received summons, did not appear at the assembly points. These people have never been to the front. Obviously, a significant part of the deserters after the end of the war were declared prisoners of war and sent to camps. By November 1944, the Hungarian Ministry of Defense estimated the number of those who were in Soviet captivity at 70 thousand people. Under the onslaught of the Red Army from November 1944 to April 1945, according to T. Stark, almost 1 million Hungarians, including 580 thousand military personnel, retreated to Germany (and Austria). This number obviously includes the Hungarian Germans who served in the 25th and 26th Hungarian SS infantry divisions. These divisions almost did not participate in hostilities and suffered only minor losses. Two more Hungarian SS divisions, the 22nd and 33rd Cavalry, were destroyed in Budapest. Approximately 300 thousand military personnel, according to the post-war estimate of the Ministry of Defense, reached the western zones of occupation. The remaining 280,000 servicemen and 350,000 civilians were taken prisoner by the Red Army. In Transcarpathia, about 30 thousand Hungarians and Germans of military age were deported to the USSR, of which approximately 5 thousand died during the deportation according to

statistical report compiled back in July 1945. From the rest of Hungary (excluding Transylvania and Budapest) 179,608 civilians were deported to the USSR. Also, according to Stark, out of 110 thousand prisoners in Budapest, the capture of which was announced by the Soviet command, there were no more than 30 thousand German and Hungarian prisoners of war each, and at least 50 thousand were civilian prisoners. According to Stark, the Red Army captured approximately 380,000 prisoners of war from the Hungarian army, and approximately 440,000 were civilian prisoners. Part of the civilian prisoners, as well as approximately 20 thousand prisoners of war, were released on the territory of Hungary, and approximately 600 thousand Hungarian prisoners (360 thousand military and 240 thousand civilians) ended up in Soviet camps. Among those set free were 21,765 Hungarians, 1,225 Jews, 992 Ukrainians from Transcarpathia and 4 Gypsies? 6 was probably dominated by those who expressed a desire to serve in the pro-Soviet Hungarian formations. Of these formations, only the Buda Volunteer Regiment managed to take part in the battles for Budapest. Of the 2.5 thousand fighters, the regiment lost about 600 killed and died from wounds<sup>77</sup>. Of the approximately 524 thousand Hungarian citizens whom the Soviet side considered prisoners of war, only 360 thousand people were actually military personnel. Obviously, in the USSR, a significant part of civilians of military age were considered Hungarian prisoners of war. Taking into account the death rate of Jews and Gypsies, the total number of Hungarian soldiers who died in Soviet captivity can be estimated at 58.8 thousand people, or 16.3%. Every sixth of those who ended up there died in Soviet captivity

536 Opdtuagu Kizzhap . Vae Gogh Vidarez. R. 266.

537 5vagK Tatb\$ . Seposae og Sepos! Cha! Mazzasge?: TVe Saze oYo Nipdamap Ru15opegz t Zomeyo Sizfodu // Nitap B19 {5 Wemem, Art! - Lape 2000. P 109-118.

soldier of the Hungarian army. It is more difficult to estimate the loss of civilian prisoners. According to Shtark, there are personal files on 526,606 prisoners from Hungary in the Soviet archives. This is very close to the total number of prisoners in the Soviet camps that we have determined. The difference of 2.3 thousand could be formed at the expense of prisoners released to participate in pro-Soviet military formations, in the same Buda regiment. In connection with this, separate cases could be opened against them, even if they were not sent to Soviet camps. In the first batch of prisoners sent home in October 1947 and numbering 100,288 people, there were 90,723, including 817 Jews - fighters of labor battalions and 9,565 civilians, including 16 children born in prison. All in all, according to Stark, out of approximately 600,000 Hungarian prisoners, at least 200,000 never returned to their homeland and almost all died<sup>78</sup>. Probably, approximately 25,000 surviving deportees from Transcarpathia should be subtracted from this number, who, most likely, returned to their homeland, which was already the Soviet Union. Then the total number of prisoners of war who died in Soviet captivity can be estimated at 60.1 thousand people, and the number of civilian prisoners who died in the USSR is at least 115 thousand, including at least 5 thousand natives of Transcarpathia.

Stark's assessment is indirectly confirmed by some documents from the archives of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. So, by February 1, 1947, only 477,478 Hungarian prisoners of war had passed through the Soviet camps, which is significantly less than the figure of 513,766 people declared in 1956. The document of 1947 specifically stipulated that 12,032 were not included in the number of prisoners of war

civilians registered as internees, and 10,352 people detained during raids in Budapest and released on the spot by the front command. Of the 477,478 prisoners of war, by February 1, 1947, 47,966 people died, 194,246 people were released and repatriated due to disability, 21,820 people were transferred to the formation of national military units and partisan schools. In addition, 1699 Soviet citizens were identified among the Hungarian prisoners of war, of which 1688 were released, and 11 were handed over to the tribunal. Another 129 citizens of the USSR remained among the prisoners of war. It is not clear whether we are talking about Hungarians - natives of the Transcarpathian region or about Soviet citizens of a different nationality. Excluding Soviet citizens, the total number of Hungarian prisoners of war could be reduced to 475,450. In addition, on February 1, 1947, there were 20,189 civilian internees. Another 8,466 internees were repatriated between January 1945 and February 1947, and 4,260 died'. But it is quite possible that there were civilians among the repatriated Hungarian prisoners of war. Most likely, the Soviet authorities considered all men who served in the army during the war as prisoners of war, regardless of whether they were in the service at the time of detention. It is also worth noting that among the 20,189 civilian internees, there were 7,493 women. There were 15,503 Hungarians among civilian internees from Hungary, 4,508 Germans, 100 Jews, and 68 others. It is possible that one of the 110

538 Prisoners of war in the USSR. 1939-1956. pp. 106-109.

539 Ibid. S. 225.

the surviving Jews was the famous Raoul Wallenberg, unless, of course, he had already been killed by that time.

Nevertheless, according to the certificate of the GUPVI of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs dated January 28, 1949, at the beginning of this year, 526,604 Hungarians were taken into account as prisoners of war, including 10,352 released in Budapest shortly after the raids. Of those who remained, only 10 people were registered as civilian internees. Among them, there are already one and a half times more liberated citizens of the USSR than in 1947 - 2922 people. The number of dead Hungarians by that time had reached 51,005 people, and only 8,021 Hungarians remained registered in the camps. From this example it follows that the categories of civilian and military prisoners were a very arbitrary concept, as a result of which the total number of Hungarian prisoners of war fluctuated quite significantly from year to year. It is worth remembering that in the message of L.P. Beria, head of the NKVD V.M. Molotov of June 6, 1945, it was stated that on June 4, the NKVD took only 2,641,246 prisoners of war, of which only 422,145 were Hungarians. Of this number, after the surrender of Germany, 1,366,298 prisoners of war were taken." It is doubtful that after June 4, 1945, the Red Army would have been able to capture any significant number of Hungarian prisoners of war. But already in the certificate of the NKVD dated June 27, 1945, it was said about 3,120,944 prisoners of war during the years of the Great Patriotic War. It can be assumed that the increase in the number of prisoners of war compared to June 4 by 478,302 people occurred mainly due to civilian prisoners. The vast majority of them were taken in 1945 and declared prisoners of war. It is interesting that only on June 6, 1945, the GUPVI NKVD directive was issued on the separate accounting of prisoners of war and internees. But you can

also suggest that the difference arose mainly due to released and deceased prisoners of war. By June 27, 1945, there were 462,465 such people, including 318,489 who died. By that time, 31,820 people had died, and 21,787 were turned to the formation of national units. In total, this gives 475,752 Hungarian prisoners of war, which is all equal to almost 51 thousand less than the number of 526 thousand prisoners that appeared later.

The document dated January 28, 1949, featured 10,165 Jewish prisoners of war, the vast majority serving in the Hungarian army. Of these, 645 were registered as civilian internees, 3645 died, and only 9 people were listed in the camps at the beginning of 1949. Note that the death rate of Jews after January 1, 1949 could increase only due to the deaths among 645 civilian prisoners and 22 transferred to the Gulag and 3 transferred to prisons (among these latter, R. Wallenberg was probably), as well as due to 14 people who left for other reasons. The total number of Hungarian Jews who died in Soviet captivity hardly exceeded 4,000. It can be assumed that most of the 5354 Western Ukrainians recorded in the 1949 document of the year served in the Hungarian army, of which 319 people were considered civilian prisoners, and only 2 died.

540 Ibid. S. 235.

541 Ibid. pp. 175-176.

person. There were 370 gypsies, also, in all likelihood, serving in the Hungarian army in 1949. Of these, 49 were recognized as civilian prisoners, and 51 people died"? It is possible that the actual number of gypsies who died was 64, if we assume that the dead account for the difference in the number of 383 gypsies in 1956. At the expense of Jews, Gypsies and Ukrainians, the total number of those who were listed as prisoners of war in the Hungarian army at one time or another increases to 543.5 thousand people.

During the fighting in Budapest, about 38 thousand civilians were killed. Of these, 13 thousand died from bullets and shrapnel or were littered with collapsed buildings, and 25 thousand died of starvation and disease or were shot. This was due to the fact that the 870,000th population of the Hungarian capital was not evacuated and experienced the brunt of the street fighting that took place in Budapest from December 24, 1944 to February 13, 1945. About 330,000 more inhabitants of Budapest left the city before December 1944, mainly due to the Anglo-American bombing. As a result of these bombings, up to 38% of all city buildings were destroyed or damaged. The total number of deaths during ground fighting and Anglo-American bombing is estimated at 44.5 thousand people? This includes victims of crimes committed by both German and Soviet soldiers. The Red Army soldiers "distinguished themselves" in Hungary by mass rapes, but, unlike in Germany, rape victims were killed only in very rare cases. Mass rape and looting provoked protests even from the Hungarian communists."

Hungary lost 788.9 thousand people in World War II, including 179.4 thousand military dead. Of these, only 600 died fighting on

side of the Red Army.

#### Romanian losses

Romanian losses in World War II are calculated by us within the borders on September 1, 1941, with Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, re-incorporated into Romania in early August 1941 and re-taken from it by the Soviet Union in August 1944, and also without Northern Transylvania, ceded by Romania to Hungary by decision of the Vienna Arbitration on August 30, 1940. The losses of the Romanian armed forces amounted to 71,585 killed, 243,625 wounded and 309,533 missing during the war against the USSR in June 1941 - August 1944. During the war against Germany and her allies in

542 Opduagu KIZzhap . Your South Vi@darez{. Ope Nipage4 Rouse w Mot \M/ag P. Trinzja1ea Kot Nipdayap. Gondop: T.V. Tait1\$ & So Da, 2003. P 3, 330, file 25.

543 ZagK Tbta\$ . Nipdagu'5 Nitap G.05sez sh My MVag P. Orrza1a Exc. 1995. R. 1-60.

544 Opdtagu KIZzhap . Vae Gog Vyadarez. R. 286-289.

545 Magk Ahiog y . Tyta Ah! Roat Apu. Gondop: Agt\$ ap Artont, 1995. P 216-217; Agtafa Votapa tal Chojea ga7b01 top la], Merlane, Bisbares{ 1995. R. 319-320.

August 1944 - May 1945 Romanian losses were 21,735 killed, 90,344 wounded and 58,443 missing. The Romanian land army in the war against the USSR lost 70,406 killed, 242,132 wounded and 307,476 missing. Her losses in the fight against Germany were 21,355 killed, 89,962 wounded and 57,974 missing. The Romanian Air Force lost 4172 people, of which 2977 people during the fighting on the side of Germany (972 dead, 1167 wounded and 838 missing) and 1195 people during the fighting against Germany and Hungary at the final stage of the war (respectively 356, 371 and 468). The losses of the fleet in the fight only against the USSR amounted to 207 killed, 323 wounded and 1219 missing, and in the fight against Germany - 24, 11 and 1, respectively. The total losses of the Romanian armed forces in World War II amounted to 92,940 killed, 333,966 wounded and 331 357 missing 5". Of the missing, about 130 thousand are prisoners taken in the Yasso-Kishinev cauldron, in fact, already after Romania went over to the side of the Anti-Hitler coalition. In total, 187,367 Romanians ended up in Soviet captivity, of which 54,612 people died?"7. In addition, 14,129 Moldovans who served in the Romanian army fell into Soviet captivity." Mortality among the Moldovans who were in Soviet captivity is unknown. It can be assumed that the majority of Moldovans were drafted into the Red Army shortly after their capture. In total, according to some estimates, 256.8 thousand residents of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were drafted into the Red Army, "of which, according to official Russian data, up to 53.9 thousand people died." Since we found that this source underestimates the losses of the Red Army killed by about 3.1 times, then the number of Moldovans who died in the ranks of the Red Army could be estimated at 167 thousand dead, and taking into account the irretrievable losses of Ukrainians,

Jews and Russians drafted into the Red Army from the former Romanian territories, the total losses of the inhabitants of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina in the ranks of the Red Army could be estimated at 200 thousand dead. However, the figure of 53.9 thousand is too small, and the coefficient obtained for the total value of dead losses cannot be applied to it, since the number of 53.9 thousand is much less than the possible statistical error. Therefore, we will proceed from a general estimate of the number of mobilized residents of the former Romanian territories at 256.8 thousand people. According to our estimates, up to 60% of all those mobilized died in the ranks of the Red Army. The vast majority of Moldovans fought only

546 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 512, tab.

198. 547 Galitsky V.P. Enemy prisoners of war in the USSR (1941-1945). S. 46, tab. 5.

548 15yuma VeriBishi Mo19owa: What's up! weights Shshprigm rshe op 2Peye poazge. Syzshtdi: ap RoPotaE, 2002. P 239-244.

549 Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. S. 238, table 21.

550 Estimate by: Smirnov E.I. War and military medicine 1939-1945. 2nd ed. M.: Medicine, 1979. S. 188.

the last nine and a half months of the war, which, formally speaking, reduced the likelihood of their death compared to all those mobilized, many of whom went into battle as early as June 1941. On the other hand, most of the inhabitants of the former Romanian territories were mobilized directly into units, and the losses among them were especially great. In the last 9 months of the war, there are approximately 22% of the losses in killed and dead from wounds, or 4.9 million people? ". The average number of ground forces and aviation at the front was 6135.3 thousand people for the II quarter of 1945, and 6714.3 thousand people for the III quarter of 1944?. Suppose that for the period from August 1944 by May 1945, almost all the wounded and sick managed to return to duty, and the new call was only to replace irretrievable losses, as well as about 100 thousand prisoners. Then the Red Army was supposed to receive about 4.4 million conscripts during this period. during this period, about 11.1 million military personnel were supposed to pass through the formations located at the front. The probability of death for them was approximately 44%. Then the number of inhabitants of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina who died at the front can be estimated at 113 thousand people. This is very close stands for the existing Romanian and Moldovan estimates of 110 thousand conscripts from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina who died in the ranks of the Red Army. For the formation of the pro-Soviet division "Tudor Vladimirescu" and other parts of the Romanian army in 1943-1945, 20,374 Romanians and 7 Moldovans??. Taking into account the fact that 201,496 Soviet military personnel fell into Soviet captivity, the total number of those killed in battle among those missing in the war against the USSR can be estimated at 129,139 people. If we take the death rate from wounds in the Romanian army at 7%, given that the number of wounded exceeds the number of those killed by only 1.2 times, then in the fight against the USSR, the Romanian troops could lose about 17 thousand dead from wounds, and in the fight against Germany - about 6.3 thousand people. In Germany, 229 Romanian prisoners died. About 1.5 thousand Romanian military personnel are buried in the Czech Republic, and 15,077 in Slovakia. In total, this

gives approximately 25,372 men, 3,637 more than the number killed in the war against Germany and Hungary. However, the Romanians also suffered significant losses in the battles in Northern Transylvania. Assuming that the number of Romanian soldiers killed there is equal to the number of those killed in the territory of modern Hungary, the number of those killed in Northern Transylvania can be estimated at 8.6 thousand people ° ° \*. Assuming everything

551 Russia and the USSR in the war of the twentieth century. S. 261, tab. 138.

552 Prisoners of war in the USSR. 1939-1956. Collection of documents / Ed. MM. Zagorulko. M.: Logos, 2000. S. 1039-1040, Appendix No. 10. For these purposes, 14 Germans, 1 Austrian, 7769 Czechs and Slovaks, 2484 citizens of Yugoslavia, 21 765 Hungarians, 1934 Poles, 85 Bulgarians, 1 French, 10 Russian

And

992 Ukrainians. The latter were probably natives of Transcarpathia and served in the Hungarian army.

553 Mayopa! Oyose Fyuyug Negoez Metogu. Washapap Setamemez Agoaa // Blr://  
mgilig.opse.go/en Leta/spo1 ge got\_&g.pbp

554 Kepaisk Ropa! A . TVe Bezetu oYo Eigore'\$ Surzez. R. 184.

those who died of wounds in August 1944 - May 1945 were buried in Romania, we estimate the total number of those killed in the war against Germany and Hungary at 34 thousand people, and together with those who died in German captivity - at 229 people. Then the total number of dead from among the missing in this war can be estimated at 12,494 people. Then the number of Romanian soldiers who survived the German and Romanian captivity, we can estimate at 45,949 people.

We estimate the total losses of the Romanian army in the fight against the USSR at 272.3 thousand dead, and the losses in the fight against Germany and Hungary - at 40.5 thousand dead.

36,000 Romanian Gypsies became victims of the genocide." The victims of the Holocaust, including the Jews of Northern Transylvania, are estimated at 469 thousand people, including 325 thousand on the territory of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina? . The number of victims of the Holocaust in Northern Transylvania is estimated at 135 thousand people. It should be emphasized that the Romanian official figures for the number of dead Jews in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina are much lower - about 90 thousand out of 147 thousand 557. They seem to us closer to reality. The total number of Jews killed in Romania within the borders on September 1, 1941, we estimate at 233 thousand people. It is possible that some of the Jews of this region were drafted into the Red Army in 1944 and died in its ranks. As a result of the bombing of allied aircraft, 7693 civilians were killed? 8. During the first Soviet occupation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina in 1940-1941, on June 12-13, 1941, 30,839 people were deported and arrested. Of this number, 25,711 people are deported??. How many of these people were shot or did not survive imprisonment or deportation is not known exactly. It can be assumed that this number was at least 5 thousand people. N.F. Bugay estimates the number of those shot at 1,000. person, which seems to us close to reality, and the number

19 thousand people died in the camps and at the place of deportations, which also seems to us a quite realistic estimate.' By mid-September 1941, were there 22,848 immigrants from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina in places of special settlement and imprisonment? '. With this in mind

555 SIBeg Magipt . AChaz oE Fe Noosap\$+. R. 244.

556 Sopicha rgeaeptsaj & reggae a1aikha @1sbafitl solatu "e ash Voshvsha. Varoge Vpa(., Vasigez i: NitapKa\$, 2008, P 585.

557 Ahiog Wu MagKk. Tyta Ah1\$ Horn of Apu. R. 314.

558 Gurtyanov A.E. The scale of the deportation of the population deep into the USSR in May-June 1941

559 Bugay N.F. L. Beria - I. Stalin: "According to your instructions." P. 189 (quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the twentieth century. P. 30).

560 Pasat V. Difficult pages in the history of Moldova, 1940-1950s. M.: Terra, 1994. S. 25-26.

561 Chzaychs-vshaag, Mechapagi. "About your opege doya spitz": him!, step, oateshLedepa"

the total number of those shot and dead by this time can be estimated at 8 thousand people. Of this number, approximately 1,000 were found in the prisons of Romania and Northern Bukovina, including 450 in Chisinau, after they were liberated by the German-Romanian troops in July 1941. Since the main death rate of the deportees occurred in the winter of 1941/42, we estimate the death rate among those deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina from mid-September 1941 until the end of the war at 12 thousand people, and the total number of victims of the first Soviet occupation at 20 thousand people. In addition, the number of civilians in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina who died during the hostilities in 1941-1944 is estimated by Romanian and Moldavian historians at 55 thousand people 3. This latter estimate seems to us to be significantly overestimated. Conventionally, we accept the number of those who died during the hostilities at 25 thousand people.

According to a former German liaison officer with the Romanian troops, "we assessed the Romanian units as the best of our allies," although the level of their command staff compared to the German one left much to be desired: "My impression of ordinary soldiers was positive, but, unfortunately, it did not apply to officers. Most of the soldiers were simple sons of farmers, because in those days, as now, Romania was a fertile agricultural country. The officers came almost exclusively from the big cities, and Francophilia was extremely common among them. None of these officers was eager to be in combat. When I told the Romanian officers that their headquarters were too far from the front line, they replied that they "had enough telephone cable"...



Several times I was invited to dine at the command post of the Romanian division. Each time it was a big meal of several courses, and it could last for many hours. Yet I have never seen ordinary soldiers eat anything but one dish, which consisted mainly of large beans.

The German officer corps had a different attitude towards this issue. The German company commander was the last in line at the field kitchen. It was a tradition!" 55

On the Eastern Front, the Romanian army played an important role in World War II, in many respects comparable to that played here by the army of Austria-Hungary in World War I. And the ratio of casualties to the Red Army in the Romanian army in 1941-1944 was close to 1:1.

The total losses of Romania in World War II are estimated at

("Toka oYo 'A M\oyA yeomeep T\ugo M'og! 95\$': Negoe\$, Mazhug\$, Gedepdagu Reore"), Syzshtatz: Huseit, Otbet, 1999.

562 Polunin Andrei . Moldova wants money for the "Soviet occupation". Or at least gas // Svobodnaya pressa, 2010, April 23 (No. Ir://zurgezza.ga/poNYas/agtise/24376/).

563 Kunow von Carl. Lead shower of the Eastern Front. Per. English M.: Yauza-Press, 2009. S. 136-139, 134.

564 Dashichev V.I. Bankruptcy strategy of German fascism. Historical essays, documents and materials. M.: Nauka, 1973. S. 639.

747.5 thousand dead, including 425.8 thousand military personnel, of which 153.5 thousand died fighting on the side of the Anti-Hitler coalition. In addition, a certain number of Germans from Romania, not exactly identified, died in the German army, in particular in the 11th motorized SS Volunteer Division "Nordland".

The ratio of losses of the parties in the African-European theater of operations

We will try to calculate the ratio of casualties killed and those who died from wounds, i.e. the main combat irretrievable losses between the Wehrmacht and its opponents in the African-European theater of operations. In the period from September 1, 1939 to April 20, 1945 (at the end of April 1945, there were practically no hostilities outside the Soviet-German front and the Balkans in the African-European theaters), the losses of the German land army in the West amounted to 109,046 killed and 772,460 missing, including some 250,000 encircled in the Ruhr Pocket, most of whom have already given up resistance. In the South-West, the losses amounted to 48,750 killed and 215,525 missing, respectively, and in the South-East - 22,370 and 24,620,555. We will exclude from the comparison the South-East (Balkans), where

for the most part, the specific guerrilla struggle of collaborationist and anti-fascist formations and where it is difficult to determine the losses of the parties. At the same time, we will add to the total of the loss of the German land army during the Polish campaign of 1939 and the Norwegian campaign of 1940. They amounted respectively to 16,343 killed, died of wounds and accidents and 320 missing, and 4,975 killed and dead and 691 missing. If these figures are cleared of those who died from wounds and accidents, then the losses killed in the Polish campaign can be estimated at 12,163 people, and in the Norwegian campaign - at 3703 ± 7. The total number of German ground forces killed during the struggle against the Western Allies can be estimated at 173,662 people, and 998,996 missing.

It is also necessary to determine the losses of the main German allies - the Italians. We will also exclude from the comparison the specific East African theatre, where colonial troops played a major role. The losses of the Italian army in France in June 1940 amounted to about 1 thousand killed. Italian army losses in North Africa amounted to 20,776 killed and missing. 37,152 people were killed and missing by the Italians in the battles in Sicily in the summer of 1943. Losses of the Italian land army

565 Müller-Hillebrand B. Land Army of Germany, 1933-1945. S. 716.

566 For data on the number of those who died from wounds and died as a result of accidents in the German land army, see: Dashichev V.I. Bankruptcy strategy of German fascism. pp. 637-638.

567 Che Ga Sogse, Ra! Manet. Gaupeige correlates ae 1a Egapse - Geshrie ysamey, 1936-1946. Time: Oepol |, 1988. P 496.

prisoners in North Africa and Sicily amounted to a total of at least 250 thousand people. During the fighting in Italy that followed on September 8, 1943, 5927 Italians died fighting in Italian units on the side of the Anglo-American allies, and 13 thousand people died fighting on the side of Germany. Another 17,488 Italians died in the anti-fascist resistance movement. In general, the losses of the Italian land army in the fight on the side of Germany can be estimated at 72 thousand killed and 250 thousand captured.

But what were the losses of the countries of the Anti-Hitler coalition. The French army lost in the fight against Germany and Italy in 1939-1940 and 1944-1945 130 thousand killed and 1540 thousand prisoners, including 67.4 thousand Moroccans and other immigrants from North Africa (24.6 thousand French soldiers died in German captivity) °3. In addition, about 20 thousand members of the French resistance movement were killed. The losses of the Dutch army in the fight against Germany in 1940 amounted to 2.2 thousand killed, and the losses of the Belgian army - 8.8 thousand killed. Dutch and Belgian prisoners taken as part of the general surrenders of these countries after the actual cessation of fighting, we do not take into account.

US Army losses in the Euro-African theaters were 153,270 killed, 6,058 missing and 95,532 captured. Losses

Army Air Forces in the Euro-African theaters of operations totaled 34,140 killed, 1,133 missing and 34,856 captured. Consequently, the losses of the US ground forces proper in the Euro-African theaters of operations amounted to 124,055 killed and 60,676 captured.

We estimate the loss of British ground forces in the African-European theaters of operations (with the exception of East Africa and the Balkans) at 80.1 thousand killed and 70.3 thousand prisoners.

We estimate the losses of the Canadian Army in the African-European theaters of operations at about 20,000 killed and about 6,000 captured. We estimate the losses of the Australian land army in the African-European theaters at 2.3 thousand killed and 5 thousand prisoners, and the losses of the New Zealand land army at 4.5 thousand killed and 6 thousand prisoners?

We estimate the losses of the Indian land army in the African-European theaters of operations at 3,000 killed and 12,000 captured.

The losses of the Norwegian land army in 1940 and during subsequent hostilities as part of the British armed forces, we estimate at 2 thousand killed. We estimate the losses of the Brazilian army during the Italian campaign at 0.5 thousand killed.

568 ESH\$ GoVp . UloyA Mag P - A %"ayz\$sa! Zagueu M.U.: Eac {\$ op RShe, 1993. P. 255-256 (Quoted from: Erlikhman V.V. Population losses in the twentieth century. S. 134-135).

569 During the battle for Crete in May 1941, the Australian army lost 274 killed and 3,079 captured, while the New Zealand lost 671 killed and 2,180 captured. These losses are subtracted by us from the total losses in the African-European theaters, as related to the Balkan theater.

570 Che Ga Sogse, Ratmane. Gauepage co]otae 4e 1a Erhapse. R. 496.

The total losses of the German and Italian ground forces in the African-European theaters of operations (with the exception of East Africa, the Balkans and the Soviet-German front) in the period from September 1, 1939 to April 20, 1945 amounted to about 245.7 thousand killed and about 1249 thousand prisoners. The number of prisoners may be somewhat overestimated, since we conditionally consider as prisoners all the soldiers of the German ground forces who are reported missing in those theaters where they fought against the Western Allies, but this does not affect the final result. The total losses of the ground forces of England and the United States and their allies in the African-European theaters (with the exception of East Africa) can be estimated at 420.9 thousand killed and 1699.4 thousand prisoners. The overall ratio of losses of ground forces killed and captured is 1.42:1 in favor of Germany. If we take only the ratio of losses killed, then it will also be in favor of Germany and Italy - 1.71: 1. In reality, the German advantage may be somewhat smaller, since some of those German missing, whom we attributed to prisoners, in fact could die in battle. The German advantage was formed almost exclusively due to the huge losses of the French troops killed and

prisoners. This was a consequence of the catastrophe that the French army suffered in May - June 1940. At that time, the French land army lost 85,310 killed (including 5,400 Moroccans) and about 12,000 missing, the vast majority of which should be attributed to the dead. The losses of the German land army in May-June 1940 amounted to 48,185 killed and 968 missing, which, probably, should be attributed to the killed in the majority? Considering that the Germans suffered losses in battles not only against the French, but also against the British, Belgian and Dutch troops, the losses in the fight against the French troops hardly account for more than two-thirds of the total losses. Then the ratio of losses killed will be 3.0:1 in favor of the Germans. The low fighting qualities of the French army in World War II were due to the desire of the French political and military leadership to adhere to a purely defensive and positional course of action in order to prevent a repetition of the huge losses of the First World War, when about 1.4 million French soldiers and officers died? any French government

571 Müller-Hillebrand B. Land Army of Germany, 1933-1945. P. 716. 572 Uralis B.Ts. Wars and the population of Europe. pp. 153-154.

573 Classified removed: Losses of the Armed Forces of the USSR in wars, combat actions and military conflicts. Ed. G.F. Krivosheev. M.: Voenizdat, 1993. The second, updated edition of this book, see: Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century: Statistical research. Ed. G.F. Krivosheev. Moscow: Olma-Press, 2001; Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century. The book of losses. Ed. G.F. Krivosheev. M.: Veche, 2010. In addition, the section of this book devoted to the Great Patriotic War was

republished as a separate book: The Great Patriotic War without a secrecy stamp: The Book of Losses. Ed. G.F. Krivosheev. M.: Veche, 2009. No new figures related to World War II appeared in the 2009-2010 editions compared to the 2001 edition. Therefore, we will continue to quote either the first edition of 1993 as "The classification has been lifted", or the edition of 2001 as "Russia and the USSR in the wars of the twentieth century." And in the text, for convenience, we will call this study by its first name - "The classification has been removed." Criticism of the understatement in this edition of Russian

At the cost, they sought to avoid war, and the unwillingness to fight was transmitted to the broad masses of the population, not excluding soldiers and officers. This led to a catastrophic ratio of German and French losses. If we exclude from the calculation the losses of France and the estimated losses of Germany and Italy suffered in the fight against France (up to 34 thousand killed in 1940 and about the same in 1944-1945), then the overall ratio of losses will already be in favor of the Western allies 1426, 7 thousand to 450 thousand, or 3.17:1. In the losses of the dead, in this case, the preponderance will remain on the side of Germany, but it will decrease to 1.64:1. This ratio reflects a certain qualitative superiority of the German army over the Anglo-American troops, which, however, was more than offset by their numerical and technical superiority, as a result of which the Wehrmacht suffered heavy losses in prisoners. This superiority was a consequence of both the general industrial superiority of the United States over Germany and the presence of the Soviet-German front, where the Red Army forced Germany to keep the bulk of its land army and tank formations.

Interestingly, the losses of Italy do not play a fundamental role in the ratio of the losses of the armies of the Axis powers and the Anti-Hitler coalition.

This is due to the relatively small role of the Italian army in the war. In all the main theaters of operations, she fought alongside the German troops, who always played a leading combat role, even if they were numerically inferior to the Italians.

The low combat effectiveness of the Italian army finds its historical and genetic explanation in events dating back to the origins of the Roman Empire. Then the Roman legions began to be completed with volunteers. At the same time, the legions were no longer deployed in Italy, where only a few Praetorian guards remained, guarding the emperor. The legions were concentrated mainly in the border provinces. Legionnaires, retiring, usually settled there, having received a plot of land. Thus, the most militant people and the "militant genes" they carried were flushed out of Italy. On the contrary, artists and artists serving the emperor and the Roman nobility were concentrated there. Italy became a country of musicians, singers and artists, but in the post-Roman period it never shone with military success. In order to equip the relatively few aviation and navy, there were still enough people with the "militancy gene". And in World War II, Italian pilots and sailors fought relatively well. Suffice it to recall the famous 9th MAS flotilla (small anti-submarine weapons) of Prince Valerio Borghese. But in order to properly equip the large land army, suitable human material was sorely lacking. It is no coincidence that the Alpine riflemen were the most combat-ready in the Italian army, who were largely descendants of the Lombards, a warlike Germanic tribe that invaded Northern Italy in the second half of the 10th century.

losses and overstatement of enemy losses in relation to the Russo-Japanese war, see: Chornovil N. Russian Statistical Studies of the War with Japan (review of the book by G.F. Krivosheev "Russia and the USSR in the Wars of the 20th Century. Losses of the Armed Forces"). 1.

The German army, on the contrary, in World War II relied on a rich military tradition, primarily Prussian and Bavarian, on a strong militaristic spirit that persisted in the country, despite all the restrictions of the Versailles Peace Treaty. An important role in the qualitative superiority of the Wehrmacht over the Western allies was also played by the fact that from the moment Nazi leader Adolf Hitler came to power in 1933, Germany purposefully prepared for aggression, creating a powerful army as its main tool, while the war found the Western allies poorly prepared for waging fighting, both materially and morally.